

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Volume 15

Cutting Marsh (From photograph loaned by John N. Davidson.)

Wisconsin State historical society.

COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. OF WISCONSIN

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES Secretary and
Superintendent of the Society

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PREFACE.

The documents with which this volume opens, illustrate a prominent phase of the relations of our pre-Territorial pioneers with the aborigines of the district around Green Bay, particularly as to the manner of acquiring land grants and mill-site privileges.

In previous volumes of this series, there have been published documents setting forth facts attending the establishment in Wisconsin of the Catholic and Episcopalian denominations. In this volume, we devote much space to valuable documentary material bearing upon the formation of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Wisconsin. Jesse Miner and Cutting Marsh were the pioneer Presbyterian missionaries. Concerning

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Miner's brief work here, we have but few documents. Marsh's career is outlined for us by Dr. John E. Chapin; following this sketch, are presented Marsh's exhaustive annual reports to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and other papers by him, which throw light upon his remarkable mission to the Stockbridges at Statesburg (Kaukauna). Alfred Brunson, "the first Methodist minister who set foot on the soil north of the Wisconsin River," tells us of his curious experiences upon a "Horseback tour from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin," in 1835, and describes pioneer life in southwest Wisconsin the year previous to the organization of the Territory.

Readers of Vol. XIV of our series will remember with pleasure Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird's recollections of her life upon Mackinac Island during the second and third decades of this century. We now publish her "Reminiscences of Life in Territorial Wisconsin," from 1824 to 1842. These memoirs possess much of the charm which characterizes Mrs. Kinzie's famous *Bun*; they bring before us vivid pictures of the men and manners of the olden time, and will prove of lasting value to students of Western history.

In Vol. XII of the *Collections*, John Luchsinger told us the romantic story of the planting of the Swiss colony at New Glarus, in Green County, Wisconsin. In the course of his narrative he referred frequently to the remarkable diary kept by Mathias Duerst, one of the leaders of the colony. This document we now present in full, Mr. Luchsinger having translated it for us from the original German. Although of narrow experience and limited education, Duerst was a man of vigorous and observing mind, and capable of terse expression. His journal is a keenly interesting contribution to the literature of foreign immigration.

Theodore Rodolf tells us of "Pioneering in the Wisconsin Lead Region," from 1834 to 1848. The author, a well-known Swiss, took a prominent part in the development of the lead district, being intimately associated with such men as the Gratiots and Washburns. His observations are of high value to the history of Wisconsin Territory. Franklin Hatheway's "Surveying in Wisconsin in 1837" is necessarily a briefer sketch, but of kindred character.

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The “Report on the Quality and Condition of Wisconsin Territory,” made in 1831 by Samuel Stambaugh, United States Indian Agent at Green Bay, is a valuable document, conveying a clear description of Wisconsin as it appeared to an intelligent official observer five years before the actual organization of the Territory.

We have in the published annals of Wisconsin too few Indian legends, such as lend a poetic glamour to the history of many other States. It is a pleasure, therefore, to present in “Osawgenong” a well-authenticated Sac legend transmitted through George Johnston, an educated Chippewa half-breed, who was related to Henry R. Schoolcraft.

Our volume concludes with three narratives obtained through editorial interviews — from Louis B. Porlier, a son-in-law of the famous Augustin Grignon, and himself a fur-trader of importance; is Clermont, a man of varied experiences in early Wisconsin, as overland mail-carrier, pilot on Durham boats, woodman, and steamboat pilot; and Peter J. Vieau, brother of Andrew J. Vieau (whose valuable reminiscences were published in Vol. XI of our series), and the friend and colleague of John V. Suydam, Solomon Juneau, and other pioneer notables.

November, 1900. R. G. T.

SOME WISCONSIN INDIAN CONVEYANCES, 1793–1836.

The following deeds, leases, and treaties, executed by Wisconsin Indians prior to 1836, and heretofore unpublished, are selected from the manuscripts in possession of this Society, or are copied from the books of the Brown County register of deeds, at Green Bay. Each document is, for identification, accompanied by its press mark: e.g., [Brown Co. Deeds, B: 110, 111] = Brown Co. Deeds, book B., pp. 110, 111; [G. L. P., LVIII:12] = Grignon, Lawe, & Porlier Papers, vol. LVIII, doc. no. 12; [Boyd, IV: 110] = Papers of George Boyd, Indian Agent, vol. IV., doc. no. 110; etc.

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These documents are instructive, as showing the methods of acquiring lands and privileges from the Indians, in pre-territorial Wisconsin.

CESSION TO DOMINIQUE DUCHARME, AT KAUKAUNA.

[Translated from the French.]

In One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety-three, Were present Wabisipine and Le Tabac noir, who have of their own free will yielded and ceded to Monsieur Dominique Ducharme¹ the land from the summit of the portage at Cacalin² to the end of the Meadow below it, with a depth of forty arpents; and upon the other side, facing the said portage, a tract four arpents wide by Thirty deep. The aforesaid vendors are content and satisfied with two barrels ²

¹ Dominique Ducharme was a leading Green Bay fur trader, frequently mentioned in previous volumes of these *Collections*.— Ed.

² Kaukauna rapids.— Ed.

² of Rum, in testimony of which, they have inscribed their marks; the old Wabisipine being blind, the Witnesses have made his mark for him.

Witnesses

S Harrison

Lambert Macabez

Mark of Wabasi Pine with the sign of the Eagle

Mark of Tabac Noir

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The undersigned, having reclaimed the Right that they too had in the Portage, have likewise sold their claims, and guarantee from all disturbance. They have accepted for their share five Gallons of Rum, with which they are content and satisfied. In testimony of which, they have inscribed their marks.

S Harrison Witness The eagle

De la Mes his son

In the presence of Mes The eagle Bitte The beaver

Ratified at the Portage of Cacalin, the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred ninety-six, the 31st Day of July in One Thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven for a Share of the Portage one Barrel Rum.

—August 8—

In One Thousand seven hundred ninety-eight one Barrel Of Rum to satisfy the undersigned

3

—July 16—

and in Ninety-nine one Barrel of Rum to mix with [an illegible word] to settle The Quarrel between them

The same are content and satisfied.

D Ducharme

Le Tabac Noir

Wachitte Wabesepine of The eagle [signature illegible] of the Beaver

Indorsed: "Recorded on Thursday the 18 December A.D. 1828 at 10 o'clock A, M. Robert Irwin Jr Register"

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 110. 111.]

A CESSION TO JACOB FRANKS.

Know all Men by these presents that We the Undersigned Chiefs of the Falavoine¹ Nation of Indians acting for the Nation in general have Given, Granted and Confirmed, and by these presents do Give, Grant and Confirm unto Jacob Franks,² his Heirs, Executors or Assigns and every of them, all our Title, Claim or demand on a Tinement or piece of land with all its Singular appurtances Containing Three Acres in front on One Hundred Acres in depth, situate at La Baye in Upper Canada bounded in front by the Riviere des Renards, on the North Side by a land Granted to Dominique Ducharme and on all othersides by Lands unconceded, for the Term of Nine hundred and Ninety Nine years, free and clear of all former or Gifts or Grants, Rents, Rent Charges, Titles, Troubles or incumbrances whatsoever, for value received.

¹ Menomonees.— Ed.

² Franks was an English Jew, who had arrived in Green Bay this year (1794), to open a trading post in behalf of his employers, Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., of Montreal. Cf. another version of this cession in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 90, 91.— Ed.

4

In Witness Whereof we have hereunto in the presince of the Undersigned Witnesses, set our hands & Seals at La-Baye this Eighth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred & Ninety four. Also a piece of land situate on l'other side of the

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Riviere Containing Nine Acres in front on one Hundred in depth, clear of all incumbrances as the above mintioned tiniment on l'other side of the River.

L. Fily 1

1 Laurent Fily, a prominent Green Bay fur trader, frequently mentioned in Augustin Grignon's "Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V.— Ed.

Witness Claude + Caron

Witnesses

George Gillespie 2

2 Apparently one of Franks's employers.

Jean Ecuyer

Thomas + Caron 3

3 Thomas Caron (Tomah, Carron, or Souigny) was then head chief of the Menomonees. The city of Tomah was named from him—"Tomah" being the French pronunciation for Thomas.— Ed.

witness Chiatche Angueman

Alex r. Kennedy

G t. Lagoterie witness

Atawoinabie

[G. L. P., LVIII: 2.]

CONTRACT TO BUILD A HOUSE.

[Translated from the French.]

Before the justice of the peace at Green Bay, Indianna Territory, St Claire County, the Undersigned, S r. Jean B te. Lemoine, a Resident therein, was present for the purpose of bargaining and Contracting with The Savage named Achoabenie, and his son Etouaikisque, and his Son-in-law Metcheshakie, the same wishing to have a house Built upon the north Side of the ohio River where they have been in the Cas de Brulé, not caring to live at the French settlement, and cultivating a Clearing for several years past. Desiring to Withdraw into this one Corner of land, they have Agreed and do agree to yield, quit, and transfer all their enclosed Clearing, which they have continually increased up to the present time, giving up all claims upon the products of their labors, All and singular. And be it Known that, to carry out the Agreement, the s d. S r. jean B te. Lemoine promises and binds himself to Hew the upright timbers for a thirty-feet house, with the joists that will be used with these timbers in [illegible word] of the Wolf, and to cut wood for the casing with the said Savages, and to put up the casing alone, that is, to clapboard the house—the said Lemoine not being bound to anything else regarding the chimney, or any chinking that the said Savages shall do or have done, or shall themselves perform, at their own pleasure. And the said Lemoine shall lay the rafters above, after having built the frame, and his Contract shall be finished, and from that moment the said Lemoine shall enter into possession of the said land of the said achoabenie and of his children generally, in the circuit of the Clearings that they may have made among them upon the lands that they possessed on the south side of the River ohio consisting of about ten arpents wide and perhaps more &. The said Lemoine has accordingly gone with the Savages, who have delivered to him their land, with which Lemoine has said that he is content and satisfied, after having seen and taken possession. And, without being obliged thereto, the s d . Lemoine consenting of his own free will, if the Savages desire and will furnish him the timber for their floor, the said Lemoine will lay it for them, the house as already mentioned

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thirty feet long by twenty-one wide, inside. Done and transacted at Green Bay this third of January, eighteen hundred seven, 6 at ten o'clock in the evening. The said Lemoine has declared that he could not sign his name, and has made his mark, with the undersigned, who has signed after hearing this paper read; and the Savages have also made their marks.

Jean B te. his X mark Lemoine

Ch les. Reaume 1 Justice of the Peace

1 Reaume arrived in Green Bay in 1792, his former home having been the hamlet of La Prairie, opposite Montreal. For many years, both under English and American domination, he was the only civil officer in what is now Wisconsin. See numerous references to this picturesque character, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, in *Historic Greek Bay*, pp. 133–137, 150, 180, 181, and other Wisconsin histories.— Ed.

Etoai Kisique metch Osakie

[G. L. P., LVIII: 12.]

LANDS FOR STOCKBRIDGE AND BROTHERTOWN INDIANS.

Articles of agreement made land] entered into at Vernon in the state of New York this 23 d day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty three between Bartholomew Calvin Jonathan C. Johnston Stephen Calvin Jeremiah Johnston Charles Tanseye chiefs and head men of the Delaware tribes of Indians formerly from the state of New Jersey of the one part & Solomon A Hendrick John W Quinny Austin Quinney Thomas F Hendrick Benjamin Palmer Francis Aaron & Sampson Auwothommaug chiefs and head men of the Muhheconunck Tribe commonly called the Stockbridge Indians of the other part² Witnesseth article first that the Muhheconunck

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2 In various volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.* may be traced the long and rather complicated story of the negotiations which led to the final establishment in Wisconsin, of the Oneidas, Stockbridges, Brothertowns, Munsees, etc. See also, the documents *post*, relative to the Stockbridge mission at Statesburg.— Ed.

7 Tribe or nation of Indians for an in consideration of the stipulation herein made on the part and behalf of the Brothertown Indians do hereby cede grant bestow to said Brotherton Indians and to their scattered brethren in the state of New Jersey to them and to their offspring stock & Kindred forever an equal right title interest claim with us the said Muhheconnuck Tribe or nation of Indians and are to be considered as a component part of the Muhheconnuck or Stockbridge nation to all the lands comprehended within and discribed in the two treatates made at Green Bay with the six nations & the St Regis Stockbridge Munsee nations of Indians the eighteenth day of August in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty one boundaries of said land contained in the first treaty viz beginning at the foot of the Rapids on the Fox River usually called the Grand Cockolin thence up said river to the Rapids of the Winnebago Lake and from the River extending back in this width on each side to the north west & south west equidistant with the lands claimed by the said Menomenee & Winnebago nation of Indians boundaries of land contained in the second treaty Viz Beginning at the foot of the rapids on Fox River usually called the Grand Kakalin thence southeast on the lower line of the lands last ceded by the Menomine & Winnebago nations of Indians to the six nations St Regis Stockbridge & Munsee nations to or equidistant with Manawakkea river emptying into Lake Michigan thence an easterly course to & down said river to its mouth. thence northerly on the borders of Lake Michigan. to & across the mouth of Green Bay so as to include all the lands of the grand traverse¹ thence from the mouth of Green Bay aforesaid a northwesterly course to a plane an on the northwest shore of Lake Michigan generally known & distinguished by the name of Weyohquatonk by the Indians, Bay de noque by the French thence a westerly course on the heighth of land separating the waters running into Lake Superior and

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1 Death's Door.— Ed.

8 those running into lake Michigan to the head of the Menomenie river, thence continuing nearly the same course until it strikes the northeast boundary of the lands ceded as aforesaid by the Munnomin & Winnebago nations to the St Regis Stockbridge & Munsee nations of Indians in Eighteen hundred and twenty one thence southerly to the place of beginning. Article second In consideration of the aforesaid granted and bargained premises which the said Muhheconnuck tribe or nation of Indians hereby promise covenant & agree to warrant & defend to said Brotherton Indians and to their proginey forever said Brotherton do hereby promise & agree to pay unto the said Stockbridge Indians within one month from the date here of the sum of Five hundred dollars in cash and they have paid this day to the Stockbridge nation the sum of Five hundred dollars the receipt whereof the said Stockbridge nation af do hereby acknowledge

In testimony whereof the said chiefs & head men have hereunto interchangeably set their hands & seals at the place & on the day & year first above written

Signed sealed & delivered in presence of

Nathan Davis

Greene C Bronson

Bartholomew Calvin Ls

Johnathan Johnston Ls

Stephen Calvin Ls

Jeremiah Johnston Ls

Charles his X mark Tanseye Ls

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Solomon W Hendrick Ls

John W Quinny Ls

Austin Quinny Ls

Thomas T Hendrick Ls

Benjamin his X mark Palmer Ls

Francis P. Aaron Ls

Sampson Owwahthommaug LS

[Brown Co. Deeds, A: 325–327.]

9

A SAW-MILL SITE AT WISCONSIN RIVER RAPIDS.

Whereas it appears by a certain instrument of writing signed by the principal chiefs of the Menominie tribe of Indians bearing date the 16 th day of August A. D. 1831 that permission has been granted by said Tribe to Daniel Whitney of Green Bay to erect mills and occupy a quantity of land at or near the rapids of the upper Wisconsin river;¹ the boundaries of said mill site and lands being fully described in the instrument of writing aforesaid: And whereas it also appears, by a letter from the War Department dated September 8 th 1831. that the aforesaid grant or permission by the Menominie Chiefs to Daniel Whitney has been approved of by the Secretary of War; with this condition in addition to those prescribed by the Indians to be embraced in the bond to be required of said Whitney for the due observance of the same; viz that the lands to be occupied by said Whitney under the permission granted to him by the Menominies are to be held by him subject to the will of the Government and that he is at any time to yield quiet possession to the United States, whenever required by any authorized officer of the Government And the

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Secretary of War further directs; that the acting agent of Indian affairs at Green Bay draw a bond in the usual form; conditioned for the observance of all the conditions above stated and after it has been executed by the said Whitney, and approved of by the said agent, the original shall be recorded in the Registers office of Brown County before it is forwarded to the Department.

1 In the autumn of 1829, James H. Lockwood and Joseph Rolette had obtained from the secretary of war a permit to erect a saw-mill on the Chippewa River or one of its tributaries, and in the early summer of 1830 built their establishment on the Menomonee River. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 133–141. This permit to Whitney is referred to, *Ibid.*, p. 141. Whitney, who arrived at Green Bay in 1816, was the founder of Navarino (1830), built saw-mills, was interested in the Helena shot tower, and conducted a considerable trade.—Ed.

Now be it known that I the above named Daniel Whitney do hereby covenant and agree for myself my heirs and assigns 10 signs to and with the Government of the United States, that I will perform all the duties, and comply with all the conditions and stipulations required by the grant of the Menominie Chiefs aforesaid viz:—That I will after a saw mill shall have been erected on the premises I have been directed to occupy by said grant or permission, saw all the lumber required for the proper use of the Menominie Nation, or the Government of the United States by any person duly authorized at a reasonable expense, and that I my heirs or assigns, will deliver annually to the Menominie chiefs at the Mill site aforesaid on the upper Wisconsin, in the Month of September for the space of ten years, the following articles, estimated at the traders prices at that place to wit. fifty pounds powder \$20; one hundred pounds of shot \$20. two hundred flints \$1. fifty pounds of tobacco \$12.50, one hundred pipes \$2,00 and twelve bushels of corn \$13. amounting in the whole to sixty seven dollars and fifty cents per annum;— and I the said Daniel Whitney do hereby further covenant, promise and agree, for myself my heirs and assigns,—That I

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will at any time yield quiet possession of the land and premises aforesaid when required by an authorized officer of the Government

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty fourth day of April A D. one thousand eight hundred and thirty two (1832)

Daniel Whitney (seal)

Witness Charles A Grignon

The within and foregoing bond or acknowledgement was executed by Daniel Whitney in my presence and is hereby approved

S.C. Stambaugh , Actg agt Ind affairs

Green Bay Agency Apl 24. 1832

Know all men by these presents that I Henry S Baird. for myself my heirs executors, & administrators do hereby bind myself that I will be accountable & responsible for 11 the performance of the conditions and covenants contained in the within instrument

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Green Bay the 12 day of May A D 1832

Henry S Baird Ls

In presence of

Indorsed: "Recorded on Saturday the 12 May 1832 at 2 o'clock P. M Alexander J Irwin 1 Reg."

1 Alexander J. Irwin arrived in Green Bay, with his father, Robert Irwin, Sr., in 1822–23. They were for many years among the leading citizens of the place.— Ed.

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 342–346.]

A MILL SITE AT LITTLE CHUTE.

Whereas, the Hon. the Secretary of War, did on the twenty second of April 1831, grant a permission upon the application of the chiefs of the Menomonee nation, to me and to Robert Irwin Jr, and Chas. A Grignon, to erect a saw and Grist mill on the west side of Fox River, at a place known and distinguished as the “Little Chute”

Now therefore, know all men by these presents, that for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars to me in hand paid by S. C Stambaugh, late Indian agent at this place, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, I have granted bargained, sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, release & forever *Quit Claim* to the said S. C Stambaugh his heirs, administrators or assigns all my right, title, interest, claim or demand whatever, of in & to the above named mill site, one mile square, on the west side of Fox River at the Little Chute aforesaid, either in law or equity—To have & to hold, to the said S.C. Stambaugh his heirs, administrators or assigns the said premises forever—

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this eleventh day of July 1832.
A.G. Ellis Ls

In presence of Daniel Whitney

12

Brown County Ss. Be it remembered that on the fifteenth day of September A. D 1832 came before me the within named A. G. Ellis and acknowledged to have signed, sealed & delivered the within deed for the uses & purposes therein mentioned

All which I do hereby certify to according to the statute —

Alexander J. Irwin Justice of the Peace Bro. County

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Indorsed: "Received for Record on Wednesday the 15th day of September A. D 1232 at 11 o'clock — Alexander J. Irwin Register"

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 386.]

Whereas it appears by a letter from the War Department dated 22 April 1831, That permission has been granted by the Menominie Indians to Robert Irwin Jr. Charles A. Grignon and Albert G. Ellis to erect a grist and saw mill and other machinery moved by water at a certain site at or near the little shute on Fox River and to occupy a tract of land for the purpose of farming and lumbering said mills; and whereas it appears that the permission aforesaid has been approved by the Secretary of War, who requires that the said Robert Irwin Jr, Charles A Grignon, and Albert G. Ellis give bond and security for the due observance on their part of all the terms and conditions on which the said permission has been granted by the Indians.

Now be it known that we the above named Robert Irwin Jr, Charles A Grignon and Albert G. Ellis, Do hereby acknowledge that the lands occupied by us, in pursuance of the above permission, as well as the mill or mills thereon erected, or which may hereafter be erected under said permission, are held by us at the pleasure of the Government of the United States and at its will and sufferance only.

And for and in consideration of the privileges or grant aforesaid the said Robert Irwin Jr. Charles A. Grignon, and Albert G. Ellis, with Samuel C. Stambaugh of Green Bay do hereby promise covenant and agree for themselves their heirs and assigns to and with the Government of the 13 United States that the said Robert Irwin Jr. Charles A Grignon and Albert G. Ellis, will faithfully comply with all the conditions and stipulations contained in the grant of the Menominie chiefs aforesaid viz

That so soon as a saw mill may be erected they will saw all the lumber required for the proper use of the Menominie tribe, and the Government of the United States (when

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requested so to do by an authorized officer) at a reasonable expense, and that when a grist mill shall have been erected they the said Robert Irwin Jr. Charles A. Grignon and Albert G. Ellis will grind all the grain required as aforesaid, And that the said Robert Irwin Jr. Charles A. Grignon and Albert G. Ellis their heirs and assigns will deliver annually to the Menominie Indians at the Mill site aforesaid in the month of September for the space of Eight years, the following articles, to wit, ten pounds of powder, thirty pounds of lead, fifty flints, twenty five pounds of tobacco, one hundred pipes and two barrels of flour; the first payment to be made in the month of September ensuing the date, at which a Saw mill may be put in operation on the site aforesaid —

The parties hereto, do further covenant and agree that the said Albert G. Ellis, Robert Irwin Jr. and Charles A. Grignon their heirs and assigns will at any time yield quiet and peaceable possession of the land and premises aforesaid, when required so to do by an authorised officer of the United States Government—

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Green Bay this fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two.

Signed, sealed & delivered in presence of

Henry S. Baird

Robert Irwin Jr. Ls

A. G. Ellis Ls

Charles A. Grignon Ls

S.C. Stambaugh Ls

Approved January 17 th 1833.

G. Boyd. U.S. Ind. Agent.

Indorsed: "Recorded on the 17th day of January A. D 1833, at 1 o'clock P.M. Alexander J. Irwin. Register."

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 394.]

14

A MILL SITE AT DOTY'S ISLAND.

Whereas it appears by a certain instrument of writing signed by the principal chiefs of the Menominee nation of Indians bearing date the 15 th day of August A. D 1831, that permission has been granted by said nation to James D Doty of Green Bay to erect mills and occupy a certain Island¹ which lies in the mouth of Fox River or Winnebago Lake, and also to cut and use timber in the vicinity on the main land necessary for the erection of such mills and dwelling house which may be required by the said Ja s D Dory his heirs or assigns, as well as for the supply and lumbering of said mills, as will more fully and at large appear reference being had to the said instrument in writing; and whereas it also appears by a letter from the War Department dated September 8 1831 that the aforesaid grant or permission by the Menomonee chiefs to James D Doty has been approved of by the Secretary of War, with this condition in addition to those prescribed by the Indians to be embraced in the bond to be required of said Doty for the due observance of the same: viz: "that the land to be occupied by said Doty under the permission granted to him by the Menomonees are to be held by him subject to the will of the government, and that he is at any time to yield quiet possession to the United States whenever required by an authorized officer of the government, and the Secretary of War further directs—that the acting agent of Indian affairs at Green Bay draw a bond in the usual form conditioned for the observance of all the conditions above stated, and after it has been executed by the said Doty and approved by the said agent the original shall be recorded in the Registers office of Brown County, before it is forwarded to the Department: Now be it known that I

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the above named James D. Doty, do hereby covenant and agree for myself, my heirs and assigns to & with the government of the United States, that I will perform all the duties and

1 Later, called Doty's Island, on which the cities of Neenah and Menasha now touch boundaries.— Ed.

15 comply with all the conditions and stipulations required by the grant of the Menomonee chiefs aforesaid, viz: that after a grist and saw mill shall have been erected, the said James D. Doty or his assigns shall do all the grinding and sawing required for the proper use of the Menomonee Nation, and the Government of the United States, by any person duly authorised: at a reasonable price and without unnecessary delay; and also that the said James D. Doty shall not commit any unnecessary waste of timber in the neighborhood of said mills, within the boundary he may be directed to occupy either for the purpose of lumbering or agriculture; and that his heirs or assigns shall give immediate and quiet possession of the same to the government of the U. States for the violation given of the aforesaid stipulations.

And I the said James D. Doty do hereby further covenant promise and agree, for myself, my heirs and assigns, "that I will at any time yield quiet possession of the land and premises aforesaid when required by authorized officers of the Government.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this nineteenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and thirty two—

James Duane Doty

Witness present, Daniel Whitney

The above instrument is hereby approved by me G. Boyd , U.S. Ind. Agt.

The within and foregoing bond or acknowledgement was executed by James D. Doty in my presence and is hereby approved

George Boyd Indian Agent

Green Bay Agency July 19th, 1832

Indorsed: "Recorded on Thursday 20th July A D 1832. Sam I Irwin . Dept Regst"

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 368.]

16

A MILL SITE ON THE WEST SHORE OF GREEN BAY.

United States to John P. Arndt Lease from Menominie Indians

Whereas our Great Father the President of the United States, has, for the benefit of his red children of the Menominie Nation directed, that a Grist and saw mill, be erected in our neighborhood and has given permission to John P. Arndt,¹ to do the same upon conditions hereinafter mentioned and of which we do highly approve, now therefore, Know all men by these presents, that we Oaskash alias "the Claw" Oh-ke-me-ne-shaw alias "Great Wave" Sthai-ki-tok alias "Scare all," chiefs of the Menominie Nation of Indians residing in the vicinity of Green Bay, Territory of Michigan in order to facilitate the object of erecting a grist & saw mill as aforesaid do give permission to the said John P. Arndt his heirs and assigns, to erect occupy and improve said Grist and saw mills, and to cut and use any timber necessary either for building or sawing into lumber upon and adjacent to a creek or stream of water usually called *Paissacue* , situated about twenty miles from Fort Howard and on the west side of Green Bay to have and to hold the said mills, Mill seat, and all necessary privileges to carry on and keep in operation the same, subject to the pleasure of the United States Government with free access and egress without let or hindrance from the Menominee Nation so long as it shall be agreeable to our Great Father the President for the said John F. Arndt his heirs or assigns to occupy them as such.

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1 Arndt, a Pennsylvania-German, arrived in Green Bay in 1823. He was the first ferryman there (1825), and for many years the leader of the French fur-trading element on the lower Fox River, Many amusing stories are told of him in Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau Bun*.— Ed.

To all which we do well and truly agree, upon the following conditions (viz) —I That the said John P. Arndt, his heirs and assigns shall yield immediate & quiet possession of said mills, with all their privileges to the United 17 States Government when it may be required: and that he will also saw any timber which may be required for the public service upon reasonable terms.

II That the said John P. Arndt his heirs and assigns shall commit no unnecessary waste of timber.

III That the said John P. Arndt, his heirs and assigns shall furnish the Memoninie Nation with all the lumber they may want for their own proper use. and grind any grain they may want, at the said mills gratis.

IV That the said John P. Arndt his heirs and assigns shall pay annually to the Menominie Nation, on the first day of June the sum of fifteen dollars—

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this twenty fifth day of August one thousand eight hundred & twenty six—In presence of

Hy. B. Brevoort Indian Agent, N. G. Bean

A. G. Ellis Witness to the signature of the Claw Robert Irwin Jr Witness to the signature of the Great Wave

Oaskash X his X mark alias the Claw

Ok-ko-me-ne-chaw his X mark alias Great Wave

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Sthai-ke-tok Alias scare all

Indorsed: "Received for record March 7, 1827. and recorded April 19th 1827. Henry S. Baird Notary Public"

Territory of Michigan

County of Brown Ss. I Henry S. Baird Notary Public in and for the County & Territory aforesaid do, L.S. hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true copy from my record as such Notary Public—

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my notarial seal at Green Bay the twenty second day of January A.D. 1833.

Henry S. Baird Notary Pub. M. Ty.

Indorsed: "Recorded on the 22d day of January A D. 1833, at 12 o'clock M. Alexander J. Irwin Register."

[Brown Co. Deeds, B: 395–397] 3

18

A MILL SITE ON THE WAUBUNKEESIPPE RIVER

[A draft.]

We the undersigned Chiefs and principal men of the Menomonee Nation of Indians do hereby give grant and confirm unto John Lawe,¹ Louis Grignon and Augustin Grignon of Green Bay in the County of Brown and Territory of Michigan, the right, power and privilege of entering upon, & taking possession of a certain portions of our Indian territory lying on the borders of Wau-bun-kee Sippe or white wing River (so called) in said Territory, for the purpose of Selecting a Suitable Scite for the erection of a Saw Mill. And we do hereby

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grant unto them our full and free consent & permission to erect & complete a Saw Mill on Said Stream at Such place as they may hereafter Select & designate; and to cut timber Sufficient for the erection of the Same, and when the Same Shall be completed; to cut timber trees on our said Lands sufficient to supply said Mill with logs, and for all necessary purposes in the carrying on of the Same; without interruption or molestation from any of our said tribe for the term of twelve years, and upon the same consideration that a Similar grant was made to Powell & Grignon upon Wolf River: And we do further grant unto the Said Lawe, Augustin & Louis Grignon the right and privilege of building a dam across said river if the same shall be necessary—& to build such houses & out houses in the vicinity of the Mill as they shall think proper. And we do hereby express our wish and request that the Indian Agent at Green Bay, the Superintendent at Detroit, and the Secretary, at War, will approve and Sanction the Grant and privileges above set forth; and confirm the Same unto the said John Lawe, Louis Grignon, and Augustin Grignon as full and ample a Manner as such grant are usually confirmed

1 Lawe, whose father was an English officer, was a nephew of Jacob Franks, and when sixteen years of age (1797) was introduced to Green Bay by his uncle. He became one of the most influential men in the valley of the lower Fox.—E d.

19

In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Green Bay this 7th day of August in the year of our Lord 1835

Witnesses

Osh Kush

Yah- his Mith mark -Taw

Sou nin nee

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Peag tham

Toh ne quay

Ne caum nau qu om

Amable

Keecaum Mekishin

Paish-cau wet

Mow way say

Oge Man shay

[Boyd, IV: 110.]

A LAND GRANT TO CHARLES GRIGNON.

[A draft.]

We, the chiefs and principal men of the Menomonee Nation of Indians, in consideration of the many services rendered unto us by Charles Grignon Senior, of Green Bay in the Territory of Michigan, and in consideration of divers credits, debts, dues, and demands, now due and owing unto the said Charles Grignon Senior from numerous individuals of our said Tribe for goods wares and merchandize sold by said Grignon to said individuals in the course of trade with us in which he has been constantly engaged for a period of more than twenty five years; and further, we being desirous of making provision for him and his family who are connected with us by intermarriage, and of securing to him the means of a comfortable subsistence in his old age, upon the lands reserved to us exclusively, and in such manner and form that he may not hereafter be disturbed, removed or interrupted,

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do hereby give, & grant unto the said Charles Grignon Senior and to his heirs now living the 20 right power, and privilege of entering upon, taking possession and holding for his own proper use and benefit, small parcel of land situate on Winnebago Lake between the Rapids of Fox river and the Grand Butte des Morts, not to exceed in quantity one half section of land, to be selected and designated by said Charles, and reserved to him forever. And we do hereby request the Agent at Green Bay and the Superintendent of the Indian Department and the President of the United States to consent to and approve of the same, by such other acts and confirmations as shall permanently secure the said tract unto the said Grignon and his heirs.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our Marks at the Little Butte des Morts, in said Territory this day of October in the year 1835

In presence of

[G. L. P, LIX, 58.]

A TREATY WITH THE ONEIDAS.

Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at Duck Creek, Wisconsin Territory, September 16 th 1836, by John F. Schermerhorn Commissioner on the part of the United States and the Chiefs Head men and Warriors of the several Tribes of New York Indians whose names are hereunto subscribed and who are interested in the lands at Green Bay provided for them by the Menomenee Treaty of February 1831 and assented and agreed unto by the New York Indians October 27, 1832.

Article First . The several Tribes of New York Indians the names of whose chiefs and representatives are hereunto annexed, hereby cede, relinquish and convey to the United States all their right, title and interest to the Land secured to them at Green Bay by the Treaty aforesaid, excepting and reserving the following Tract on which a part 21 of them now reside Beginning at the south westerly corner of the French Grants at Green Bay and

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running thence southwardly to a point on a line to be run from Little Cacalin¹ parallel with the line of the French Grants and Six miles from Fox River, from thence on said parallel line northwardly Six miles, from thence eastwardly to a point on the Northeast line of the said Indian lands and being at right angles with the same.

1 Little Chute.—E d.

Article Second . The United States hereby stipulate and agree as an exchange for the above lands to convey by Patent from the President of the United States, as much Land in the Indian Territory west of the State of Missouri to the said New York Indians as *much land*² as they have now ceded or hereafter may cede to the United States or to the State of New York and adjoining the northwardly line of the Lands of the Cherokees and Osages so as to included the lands to the waters of the south bank of the little Osage river if the same has not already been disposed of by the President of the United States to some other Tribe of Indians and in such case the New York Indians shall be permitted with the consent of the President of the United States to select their Lands in any other part of the Indian Territory aforesaid not already appropriated for other Indians. And if on the removal of the New York Indians it shall be found that they have not a sufficient quantity of land for their accommodation in the above Tract then the President of the United States shall add thereto as much more as he may, deem necessary The whole to be conveyed by Patent by the President of the United States according to the provisions of the Act of Congress of June 1830.

2 Repetition of words in the document.—E d.

The United States in addition thereto agree to allow to the said Indians the sum of Three Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars (340.000) out of which sum is hereby set apart Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars (250.000) for their removal and subsistence for one year after their arrival at their new homes And Fifty Thousand Dollars²² as a School Fund and for the assistance of the aged infirm orphans which said sum shall be

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invested in some safe and productive Stocks in the State of New York and the interest thereof shall be applied annually for the objects specified among the New York Indians who shall have removed West of the Mississippi. Out of the above sum of Three Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars shall be allowed and paid to the Tuscarora Tribe; and the sum of Five Thousand Dollars to the St. Regis Tribe; and the sum of Three Thousand dollars to the Orchard party and the sum of Thirty Thousand five hundred dollars to the First Christian party of Oneida Indians settled at Green Bay as a remuneration for the monies expended and laid out by said Tribes and parties and for services rendered by their Chiefs and Agents in securing the Title to these lands and in removal to the same. The same to be apportioned and paid out to the several claimants by the chiefs and commissioner of the United States as may be deemed by them most equitable and just.

Article Third. If the New York Indians do not all remove to the Indian Territory to the lands provided for them by this Treaty as a permanent home within such reasonable time as the President may prescribe the balance of the amount set apart for their removal and subsistence as shall be unexpended at such time the President may dispose of for the benefit of the New York Indians who may have imigrated as he may deem best for their interest.

Article Fourth . It is hereby understood and agreed that whenever any of the Tribes of the New York Indians or any portion of them are willing and prepared to remove to the Lands provided for them in this Treaty and signify the same to the President of the United States that then the means for their removal and subsistence shall be furnished by the Government of the United States. And any chief conducting a party of not less than One Hundred souls shall be allowed Five Hundred Dollars for his services, and if in the opinion of the agent of the Tribe he be 23 judged competent to remove the party he shall be allowed at the rate of Twenty Dollars per head for each person belonging to his party and removed by him for their subsistence by the way. And if any Tribe or party so removing in the opinion of the Agent require a removing agent then one shall be appointed for that

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purpose. The emigrants will be permitted to commute their one year's subsistence for Thirty-three & one third Dollars in cash if they prefer it.

Article Fifth . Perpetual peace and friendship shall exist between the United States and the New York Indians or the Six Nations of the Ancient Iroquois confederacy, and the United States hereby guarantees to protect and defend them in the peaceful enjoyment of their new homes and hereby secure to them in said country the right to establish their own form of Government, appoint their own officers, administer their own laws, subject however to the Legislation of the Congress of the United States for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. The Land secured to them by Patent under this Treaty shall never be included without their consent within any State or Territory of this Union. They shall also be entitled, in all respects, to the same political, civil rights and privileges that are granted and secured by the United States to any of the several Tribes of Imigrant Indians residing and settled in the Indian Territory.

Article Six. The First Christian and Orchard parties of Oneida Nation of Indians being principally interested in the Tract reserved by the First Article of this Treaty it is stipulated on the part of the United States that no portion of the Land so reserved shall be conveyed or relinquished to the United States except by Treaty stipulation and by consent of the chiefs and representatives of the said First Christian and Orchard parties of the Oneida tribe who now reside on said reservation. And it is further stipulated and agreed that all removal from the State of New York by the New York Indians to Green Bay shall cease after the ratification of this Treaty.

Article Seventh. This Treaty after it has been ratified 24 and confirmed by the President and Senate of the United States shall be obligatory on the President of the United States and on the several Tribes of Indians the names of whose Chiefs & representatives are hereunto annexed.

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In testimony whereof the said John F. Schermerhorn and the chiefs and representatives of the several Tribes of New York Indians have hereunto set their hands and seals the day & year above written.

In the Presence of

George Boyd U.S. Ind Agt.

John P. Arndt

Solomon Davis

M. L. Martin

A. G. Ellis

John Dana U.S. Interpreter

J.F. Schermerhorn

Henry X Powlis

Elijah X Scanandoa

Adam X Swamp

Jacob X Cornelius

Neddy X Atsiqwot

Thomas X Lodwick

Cornelius X Stevens

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Thomas X King

John X August

David X Williams

John X Cornelius

John X Cooper

Daniel Bread

James Cusick

William Mount Pleasant

Daniel X Peter

Eleazer Williams

Indorsed: "J. F. Schermerhorn's Treaty with the Oneida Indians at Duck Creek, Sept. 16, 1836."

[Boyd, V: 12.]

25

SKETCH OF CUTTING MARSH. BY JOHN E. CHAPIN, D. D.¹

¹ The author is a Presbyterian divine, at Neehah. The paper was originally written as a sermon, but has been condensed by the Editor to fit it for publication in the present form. It is valuable as presenting a summary of the letters, journal, and other documents left by Cutting Marsh, which have been deposited in the archives of this Society by the

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Presbyterian synod of Wisconsin. These papers are described upon page 39, *post*, in connection with the publication of a selection therefrom.—E d.

On the first day of May, 1830, the Rev. Cutting Marsh.² a young man lately graduated from the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., landed at Green Bay, then in the Territory of Michigan. His destination was Statesburg, twenty miles up the Fox River from Green Bay, and in near vicinity of what is now South Kaukauna. Here was the Grand Kakalin (Big Rapids), the Indian name from

² Cutting Marsh, son of Samuel White and Sally (Brown) Marsh, was born in Danville, Vermont, July 20, 1800. His given name was derived from his paternal grandfather's maternal grandfather, Cutting Moody. The early years of our subject were passed upon his father's farm. From 1819 until 1822 he spent in preparation for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1826 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1829. On April 22, 1829, he was licensed to preach by the Andover Association of Congregational ministers; and on September 24, 1829, was ordained as a foreign missionary at Park Street Church in Boston. In October, 1830, he departed for his field of labor among the Stockbridge Indians of the Northwest, as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Reaching Detroit on his way to Green Bay November 1, 1830, he found that the last boat for the season had been gone for two months. Accordingly he went to Maumee, Ohio, where there was a mission among the Ottawas. There he spent the winter. In the ensuing spring he started for Green Bay, which point he reached Friday, April 30, 1830. Upon the very next day (Saturday) he traveled by boat up the Fox River to the station of the Stockbridges at the Grand Kakalin, then called also Statesburg and now known as South Kaukauna. Although he reached his destination late at night and very weary, he preached the next day (Sunday, May 2, 1830) his first sermon to his new charge.

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The mission house of the Stockbridges which became his residence, “was in those days almost the only house of entertainment between Green Bay and Fond du Lac.”— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 189, *note*.

When, in consequence of the treaty of the United States with the Menominee Nation of October 27, 1832 (7 *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 405), and of the acceptance of the new cession, proposed by said treaty, by the Stockbridges and other New York Indians (*Ibid.*, 409), the Stockbridges removed to their new lands, Marsh accompanied his people. His new home was therefore at Stockbridge, in what is now Calumet County, east of Lake Winnebago. At the time of this removal, and down to 1840, there were but three whites residing within the present Calumet County, of whom Marsh was one. The period of the removal of the Stockbridges from Statesburg to their new home, which they named Stockbridge, is not exactly given. Doubtless it was in the early spring of 1834. Certainly the removal was practically complete early in June of that year. On June 19, 1834, Marsh and his five Stockbridges started on their missionary visit to the trans-Mississippi Foxes and Sioux, the report of which is contained in the letter edited in the present volume, *post*.

On November 2, 1837, Marsh married at Stockbridge, Eunice Osmer of Buffalo, New York, born in 1798 at Whitestown, New York. She had taught among the Ojibways at Fort Gratiot from 1821 to 1824; and from 1824 until about the time of her marriage, as a teacher in a mission school at Mackinac. A daughter of this marriage, Sarah E. Marsh, resides (1900) in Chicago.

Marsh's labors for the Stockbridges continued until the American Board discontinued its work among them in 1848—he preached his final sermon under the Board, at De Pere, October 29, 1848. Marsh reported frequently of his work and of the condition and characteristics of his Indian charge to the American Board and also to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, of Edinburgh, Scotland, which latter Society also gave aid to the Stockbridge mission.

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From 1848 for about three years, Marsh was a home missionary in Northern Wisconsin, with Green Bay as his home. In 1851 he removed to Waupaca, situated on an Indian reservation, the land of which had just been opened for settlement. The country was new and for several years he had appointments for preaching at different places every Sunday, some of them being twenty miles from his home. He died at Waupaca July 4, 1873. His wife, who had been his wise and faithful helper, died December 27, 1855. A cut of this self-denying and devoted preacher faces p. 116 of Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*.—W. W. Wight.

26 which Kaukauna is derived. Here were situated the Stockbridge Indians, a tribe among whom the Brainerds and Jonathan Edwards had labored in Massachusetts before the War of the Revolution. The Stockbridges were transferred from Massachusetts to the State of New York, and lived in Onondaga County until 1821, when they were removed to this point on the Fox River. A church had been organized among them in 1818, and in 1825 we find the Rev. Jesse Miner establishing a home among them as their pastor, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. He had come on first without his family, had labored very successfully, and then returned East, and brought his family into the wilderness; but just as he was completing a house and barn for them, he died, November 22, 1829. His grave is still to be seen on the high-bank of the river above Kaukauna.

It was to supply this vacancy that young Marsh came to Green Bay in 1830, both as minister and physician. We 27 see from Marsh's diary and correspondence at this time, that he was the product of the sober, thrifty, self-reliant, and stalwart life of New England; the son of a pious home, and the pupil of that truly high education which leads a man to covet usefulness rather than treasure, and to rejoice in sacrifice rather than in ease.

On reaching the field he found a settlement on the southeast side of the Fox River, and stretching along its banks some four or five miles, and from a mile and a half to two miles back from the stream. The Stockbridges had opened farms, lived in log cabins, raised

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corn and wheat, and owned live stock. They had a church building and a school house. But there were only two white people in all the region, except at Green Bay, where were a garrison of United States troops and a few settlers, mostly French-Canadians. The whole number of the Stockbridge Indian settlement at and near Kaukauna was 225 souls, with 39 church members.

28

But the mission aimed at a wider enterprise than the supplying of the gospel to this small band of semi-civilized and Christian Indians. The large and savage tribes of the Menomonees, the Brothertowns, and the Winnebagoes were in close vicinity, and it was intended through this settlement to reach them with Christian influences. The letter to Mr. Miner, from Jeremiah Evarts, the distinguished statesman and lawyer, then at the head of the Board of Missions, which appears upon a later page, was written only a year or two before Evarts's death; it sets forth the rules and the aims that are to govern the mission.

In Marsh's diary, reports, and letters, we read of that devoted missionary's daily round of work, his visits to the sick and dying, his personal interviews with the impenitent and the careless, with the anxious and the troubled, with the poor and the needy, and the ignorant. We see him preaching twice on every Sunday, superintending the Sunday School, conducting a weekly prayer meeting, laboring in revivals, and rejoicing in new converts. We see him following up the delinquent in duty, encouraging the weak, distributing religious books and tracts, burying the dead, and comforting the afflicted. His hands and heart are continually full. Sometimes we find him overwhelmed with care and responsibility, and a sense of his own unfitness and unworthiness; but never once does he think of abandoning his duty, of forsaking his post.

It seems that soon after entering upon his work, Marsh came under the partial care of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, a body whose headquarters were at Edinburgh. Marsh's letters and yearly reports to that Society give us a full view of his life in this mission work. He tells of striking conversions, of triumphant deaths, of the

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victories of faith over all the adversities of life as then seen. He tells of the awful depravity as seen in the savage state, the cruel neglect of the aged and the weak, the revolting superstitions of drunken revelries—for, as ever, whiskey was the curse and ruin of the Indian, the cause of the horrid murders which occurred so often, and of the exceeding difficulty experienced in reaching the Indian with the gospel.

We see in the journals of 1832, how the mission was disturbed by the Black Hawk War. Rumors of invading bands of Sacs and Foxes, of stealthy onset, of bloody massacre, and of general destruction, pervaded all the vast wilds of Wisconsin. Between the frontier posts of Fort Winnebago (Portage) and Fort Howard (Green Bay), there was a frequent passage of hurrying messengers, and at last the march of soldiers and war-painted Indians in the service of the United States.¹ The mission was full of daily alarms, and many of the families and all of the assistant missionaries went to Fort Howard for protection; but our missionary held his ground, looking after those who remained, and continuing the work as well as he could. After a time the excitement subsided, and peace again pervaded the Fox River valley.

¹ Reference is here made to Stambaugh's Expedition. See "Story of the Black Hawk War," and "Boyd Papers," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 216–298.—E d.

The question of the removal of the settlement to a more favorable location now began to be agitated, and we find Marsh a member of an exploring company which set out from Statesburg in the late summer of 1832. They embark in boats at the foot of the Grand Kakalin, and begin the ascent of the Rapids. He is charmed with the sound of the dashing waters; with the shores, some forty feet high, covered with dense forests and grape vines; with the green boughs often hanging over into the water. About sundown they arrived at the foot of Little Butte des Morts, just above Appleton, where the river expands into the broad and quiet surface which reaches up to Doty's Island. Here they camped for the night, first having a service of song and prayer. The next morning they reached the island, and it is described as a beautiful spot about two miles long and one wide. It was occupied

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by a small band of the Winnebago tribe. Near the upper end 30 of the island he describes the appearances of an ancient cultivation-the lines of old corn rows still plainly discernible, and yet so far in the past that trees from twelve to eighteen inches in diameter had grown upon them. This would carry the cultivation of that spot back some sixty or a hundred years anterior to the Revolutionary War.

Here the missionary, with two companions, left the boat to cross Lake Winnebago, while he followed around the shore on foot. He describes the low, marshy ground at first encountered, and then the gradual rising of the shores until they come to an abrupt, rocky height of some two hundred feet, which we know by the name of Clifton. Farther on they encountered an abundant stream of pure water; its source is a ground spring, giving forth a current large enough to run a mill. They found another stream, and followed it until they reached an elevation giving a view of the whole scene. A dense forest of the finest timber sloped down to the edge of the lake, whose bright waters stretched away to the opposite shore, and off to the left, beyond the horizon.

As they descended to rejoin the boat, just as the sun had sunk, sounds of Indian music, interspersed with savage howls, came up from the depths of the forest. It was judged to be an Indian camp, celebrating by a war dance some victory in the late trouble with the Sacs. Our explorers were not discovered.

On their return, Marsh remarks upon the wonderful natural advantages possessed by this region: the fertile soil, as indicated in the growth of the timber, the salubrity of the climate, and the best water-power in the United States. He sees in it a rich heritage of the coming civilization.

The result of this exploration was the removal of the Stockbridges, in 1834, from the foot of the Grand Kakalin to the east shore of Lake Winnebago, where the village of Stockbridge now stands. Here, with better soil, timber, and greater isolation,—for the vicinity of the white community had, as ever, proved a serious detriment to the recovery and elevation

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of the Indians to Christian civilization, 31 —the work of confirming and developing the tribe was prosecuted. Here, for fourteen years longer, Marsh devotedly toiled.

There is an interesting letter to Marsh, dated from Fort Snelling, September 10, 1835, from Maj. Gustavus Loomis, of the First infantry, the commandant, inquiring about domestics. The latter wants a Christian man and woman to take charge of his household of four; if such can be sent from Stockbridge, he will pay their expenses and fifteen dollars per month during the first year, and, if efficient, twenty dollars per month thereafter: this with board. Full directions are given as to the journey; first by boat from Stockbridge to the portage, then down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, thence by steamboat to Fort Snelling.

In another letter a lady, Mrs. Julia E. Stevens, gives a very interesting account of a journey over this route in June, 1885. She mentions the gentlemanly and Christian officers at Forts Winnebago and Crawford,—Col. Zachary Taylor, at the latter place, being especially civil and hospitable. Religious services were held in all these places on the Sabbath, and well attended. Major Loomis at Fort Snelling was an elder in the Presbyterian church, and all his family were Christians. He expresses himself as deeply interested in Marsh's work.

But in the year 1848 that work ended in the separation of Mr. Marsh from the Indians, and the ultimate division of the tribe- one party choosing to be citizens, and continuing on their farms at Stockbridge; the other retaining their tribal relations, and removing to a new reservation at Keshena, near Shawano. This breaking up is attributed largely to Jeremiah Slingerland, an educated Indian minister, who died a few years ago while in connection with the Winnebago Presbytery.¹

¹ Slingerland was a Stockbridge. He married Sarah Irene Seymour, a white woman, who was associated with her husband for thirty years in teaching a government school among his people. She died August 15, 1892.—E d.

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Mr. Marsh had thus spent eighteen years of his life in 32 uninterrupted labor among this people. There is only one record of absence in the whole time.¹ Far away in the wilderness, separated from his old friends by vast spaces and by rare and difficult communication, he is cast as a seed into the ground.

¹ During his visit to the Sacs and Foxes, in 1834, of which his report is published, *post.*—E d.

In his report made to the secretary of the Scottish Society, at the end of the fourteenth year of his labor, he frankly states his disappointment at the results. This disappointment arises out of the fuller knowledge he now had, of the native character. He had not realized the favorable impressions at first entertained. The Indians had now been under the influence of the gospel for a hundred and ten years,—ever since the Brainerds had labored among them,—yet they were not wholly delivered from paganism, even in the membership of the church. Among other obstacles to their moral and social advancement are a lack of integrity of character, of principle and truthfulness, of stability, an aversion to mental effort, and an unconquerable opposition to restraint. Their fickleness, insincerity, indolence, want of moral courage, and inability to comprehend divine truth, are obstacles to their elevation. Had it not been for the saintly lives here and there, who had survived temptation, he would have had no comfort in his work. But very little remained of visible result. The Indian communities fade away—neither churches nor schools take root and grow. They hold feebly to land and citizenship. The race perishes in the light of civilization, and that not alone through the wrongs inflicted upon them. They seem incapable of the attainments that lead up to high character and stable power. But while this is true as a general fact, yet the many converts gathered by missionary labor are an abundant compensation for the outlay in men and money.

There are now not more than twenty-five Indians left in the neighborhood of Stockbridge, and these attend the Congregational and Methodist churches. At Keshena, there is a feeble band of Christian Indians, a remnant of this old 33 Stockbridge church, but they are

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constantly on the decrease. The conkshell by which the Brainerds used to call the people together for worship, a hundred and fifty years ago, and was used for that purpose up to the end of Marsh's labors, was sent by his daughter two or three years ago to be deposited in the rooms of the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia, where it now is.

But we now turn to another side of Marsh's labors. We shall now see him bearing an important part in laying the foundations of a new civilization in the valley of the Fox. We find him in April, 1837, setting out from Stockbridge for Green Bay; thence in a steamboat to Manitowoc, thence to Sheboygan, and thence to Milwaukee, the fare being \$3.87½. On April 11, he takes part in the organization of of a Presbyterian church, after a lively discussion with the Congregationalists as to the form of government. The vote was 15 to 11, in favor of the Presbyterian form.

In September, 1838, he takes part in the dedication of the Presbyterian church at Green Bay. It was a joyful occasion. The little church organized two years before (1836), had struggled through great difficulties and were realizing more than their expectations. Marsh seems to have preached the first sermon in it, September 9, 1838, from the words, "We walk by faith, not by sight." In the evening, the dedication sermon was preached by the Rev. Stephen Peet, then of Milwaukee, from the words in the 48th Psalm, "Walk about Zion, number her towers," etc. He describes the occasion as one of the most interesting he had ever enjoyed.

Again, early in January, 1841, a party of ministers call on him at Stockbridge. They are Moses Ordway, from South Prairieville; Stephen Peet, of Milwaukee; and O. F. Curtis, of Prairieville. They had come up through the wilderness from Milwaukee, on their way to Green Bay, to install Jeremiah Porter as the pastor of that church. After a day or two, Marsh joins them, and the pastor is installed, Peet preaching the sermon from the words, "For they 4 34 watch for your souls," etc. Curtis delivered the charge to the pastor, and Ordway the charge to the people. This service occurred on January 4.

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One of these brethren, Moses Ordway, seems to have continued with Marsh in a protracted meeting of some two weeks, at this time in Stockbridge. From the various glimpses we get of the man, Ordway was an interesting and forceable character, courageous, clear-headed, direct, and shrewd, as well as devoted; he seems to have been tower of strength in that day. His opinions and sayings are much prized; we find traces of him in the important discussions in all the conventions, and in many of the revivals and church organizations in this region. He came to the Territory in 1836, from Western New York, and the last trace I find of him is in 1857, when he is without charge at Rockford.

Marsh, as we have seen, closed his connection with the Indians in 1848, after eighteen years of service. We find him in October of that year, at De Pere, having engaged to preach there for a year. But his diary now becomes a blank, and we have not a word further concerning his work here.

In the summer of 1849, he is in the service of the American Home Missionary Society, with headquarters at Green Bay. He proceeds up the river on horseback, on very bad roads; he passes the scene of his early labors, near Kaukauna, with mournful reflections—for the houses are in ruins, the fields overgrown with bushes, and the grave of his predecessor, Jesse Miner, is almost obscured.¹ The murmur of the waters in the rapids is the only voice that speaks of the unchanged. At Appleton, he finds a main street cut through the dense forest, and here and there a home in the woods.

¹ See Tanner's description of the grave, in Kelso cemetery, in *Wis.Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, p. 216.— Ed.

On August 23, 1849, he is at Neenah, is much surprised at its growth, crosses over to Doty's Island on a ferry, for eleven cents, calls upon Rev. A. P. Clinton there, goes 35 from there over to Menasha, "a suddenly got up place," thirteen months old.

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In May, 1850, he passes Appleton again, and finds it with five hundred people. He comes to Mr. Ladd's, just west of Neenah, through dreadful roads. Then in Neenah, he finds Dr. Gallentine, just recovering from a severe illness; goes out to Deacon Mitchell's, and finds them mourning their son and first-born child. He meets Dr. Ayres, Dr. Fitch, and Dr. Pugsley. May 26th, he preaches at Neenah, in the morning, from 2 Pet. 3:11. "Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in holy conversation and godliness." In the evening, he preaches at Menasha.

August 26, 1849, we find him administering the communion at Fond du Lac, at the residence of Mr. Gillett. August 28 and 29, he is at Lake Mills, thirty-six miles from Beaver Dam, attending a meeting of the convention. The ministers mentioned as present, were E. J. Montague and Mr. Kanouse. On their return to Beaver Dam, a stirring temperance meeting was held at that place, at which Mr. Marsh made the closing speech. The next morning his horse's tail was found to be cropped, as the expressed resentment of the enemy. Temperance societies were vigorous, and temperance taverns often to be found.

From Beaver Dam he goes to Dodge Center (now Juneau), and holds service in the home of one Coleman. Subsequently he labors a week in this field, with Ordway, and the result is an organized church.

Then we find him in Mayville, where the Rev. Mr. Peck had in January, 1849, organized an Old School Presbyterian church. He describes the operation and the product of the iron furnace at Iron Ridge. The yield was five tons per day of pig iron, at twenty-six dollars per ton.

He is next in a place called Eden, although in nowise the Eden of Scripture. Then he goes back to Beaver Dam, to attend the October convention. Thence he sets out for the pinery, passing up through Strong's Landing (now Berlin), Grand Rapids, Plover, and thence to Stevens Point, 36 with its twenty houses; thence up to Bull Rapids, on the Wisconsin, as far as the present city of Wausau. He finds forty-seven saw mills along the Wisconsin

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River, and from fifteen hundred to two thousand men engaged in rafting logs and lumber. These rafts go to Galena, thence to St. Louis. Chicago is not yet a point of interest, in fact is only mentioned once in the whole diary, and that several years later on.

This one tour of exploration occupied some seven weeks of the autumn and early winter of 1849. Newly settled families were found here and there in the wilderness, and embryo villages began to appear. To these our missionary came as a reminder of that gospel with which the most of them had been familiar in the old home. Here and there was a live Christian, with a well-ordered household. But it was painful to see how many had come into the new land as if to throw off the once-borne yoke of Christ, and even the restraints of civilization.

In June, 1850, he encounters the Fourierite community at Ceresco, under the leadership of Warren Chase. He considers the influence here, deadly to all Christian life. Of thirty families who maintained family worship and church connection, when they went in, not one continued the practice after the first year. The writings of Fourier and of Andrew Jackson Davis prevailed, and in 1851 the spiritual rappings appeared. He predicted what actually came to pass, the material as well as the moral failure of the scheme. There now remain only the ruined remnants of the old community, in the valley just below the city of Ripon. But his visits to this place resulted in the Congregational church at Ripon.

In October, 1850, he is again at the convention at Beaver Dam, and records the following ministers as present: L. C. Spofford, E. G. Bradford, J. S. Kanouse, O. Johnson, and Hiram Marsh. We find also that C. E. Rosenkrans was stationed at Columbus.

February 8, 1851, he preaches in Fond du Lac, for Mr. Spofford. February 12, he is in Omro, and assists Mr. 37 Bigelow. May 10, he assists in the organization of the church in Omro; he finds Oberlin perfectionism there. Again he is in Rosendale, with Mr. Birdeman. At Oshkosh, at an earlier date, which I cannot now recall, he had taken part in the organization of a church; Mr. Freeman was the minister.

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And so, all over this region, from Green Bay to Baraboo, from Wausau to Columbus and Manitowoc, our missionary passed and re-passed during the years 1849–56. There was not a village or a rustic community unvisited by him, and where he did not seek to establish Christian institutions. These explorations were made on horse-back, over ill-defined pathways and unbridged roads. Sometimes he was lost—once in a cedar swamp, in which horse and man were obliged to spend the night. Another time, his horse was mired, and he walked several miles before getting help to pry the animal out. Often the missionary was in peril from the elements, and from vicious men. But all over this region he continued, with unwearied devotion, to read, pray, and exhort in families, and to preach in private houses or in school houses or upper halls. Often we find him prescribing at the sick-bed, when the physician was far away, or when the expense of one could not well be borne.

In 1852 he removed from Green Bay to Waupaca, where he had purchased a tract of land to make a home for his family; henceforth his head-quarters are there. He organizes a church at Waupaca and one at Pine River, also looks after Weyauwega.

From 1850 to 1853, there was a remarkable pouring in of people from the East. Foreign immigration had by that time hardly attracted notice. New England and New York institutions were rapidly developing in Wisconsin. Farms would open as if by magic; villages of five hundred or one thousand inhabitants would spring up in a few months or a year. It was a busy task to attend to them all, and see that ministers were supplied and sustained. Marsh, as the earliest on the ground, and fully alive to the importance of the northeastern part of the State, was incessant in travel, 38 in personal effort, in preaching and in correspondence; During the first fifteen years of his residence in the Fox River valley, it is safe to say that there was not a white family north of that river. The incoming tide of civilization found him here, awake to the needs of the hour. To his intelligent and ready zeal, much of the church planting and growth in this district is due.

The regions to the south and west, the earlier-settled parts of the State, were occupied by other and equally zealous pioneer ministers. The Wisconsin Congregational convention have erected a monument over the grave of Stephen Peet, who so zealously labored in the south. Others were equally deserving in other parts of the State. But none who labored in Wisconsin, whether we consider the time at which his labors began or the intelligent experience and zeal brought to bear upon them, are deserving of more honor than Cutting Marsh.

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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION, 1825–48.1

1 As stated on p. 25, *note 1, ante*, the papers left by Rev. Cutting Marsh, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, have been deposited in the archives of this Society. With the Marsh papers, the Society has also received from the same source, several documents appertaining to the work of his predecessor, Jesse Miner. The Miner papers are herewith published in full; but the Marsh papers are so voluminous that we have selected for present publication only that missionary's annual reports to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, covering the dates May 2, 1831–June 1, 1848. Even these, we have somewhat abridged, omitting those portions in the later reports which either dwell in detail upon the purely ecclesiastical side of his work, or cast reflections upon rival denominations. The journal kept by Marsh is contained in 39 MS. books, covering the Period from May 2, 1830, to the close of the year 1855; there are also 55 letters from and to Marsh, bearing dates from 1830 to August 6, 1856.

The Scottish reports, although prolix, are of exceeding interest, from many points of view—historical and psychological. They present to us a picture of the results of Calvinistic teachings upon Wisconsin barbarians, after several generations of similar missionary efforts; of the transition of the tribe from a state of nature to that of citizenship in a civilized community; of the trials, tribulations, and changing moods of the missionary himself; and are particularly interesting when compared with the annual *Relations* of

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the Jesuit missionaries in New France, to which they will be seen to bear many curious resemblances as to matter, form, and spirit. We follow the original drafts of the reports, as preserved by Marsh. Finished copies were sent by him to Edinburgh.— Ed.

GRANT OF STATESBURG MISSION SITE.

This agreement made the 6th day of April 1825 between the Chiefs & Peacemakers of the Stockbridge Tribe of Indians in behalf of their nation of the first part and Rev d . Jesse Miner² Missionary to s d . Tribe of Indians of the second

² Jesse Miner was at this time the American Board's missionary to the Stockbridges at New Stockbridge, N. Y. The mission site herein described was that of the present South Kaukauna, the settlement being at first called Statesburg. Miner arrived at Statesburg in July, 1827. As will be seen from the succeeding document, he returned to New York in the autumn; but in June, 1828, permanently located at Statesburg. He came at first without his family, but later brought them to the new mission; and while completing a house and barn for them, died March 22, 1829.— Ed.

40 part witnesseth That the said Parties of the first Part for the consideration herein after mentioned do agree to convey & confirm to the s d . Jesse Miner and hereby do convey & confirm to him all right and title to the Mission House & Barn and the other improvements on the piece of Land attached to them agreeably to a Deed given by Elijah Pye to our former Missionary Rev d . John Sergeant.¹ and the said party of the second part doth hereby agree & bind himself to & with the said parties of the first part that when the said piece of Land shall be sold to the State, on condition the said House Barn & other improvements, on their appraisal, shall be accredited to the s d . party of the second part, he will then pay to the said parties of the first Part or their Agent within one year the sum of money at which said House Barn & other improvements shall have been appraised.

¹ miner's predecessor as missionary to the Stockbridges, in New York, Sergeant died September 7, 1824.— Ed.

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And the said parties of the first part further agree to grant to the said party of the second part so far as in their power peaceable possession of s d . piece of Land & the improvements untill s d . Land shall be sold to the state

In testimony whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands & seals the day & year above written

Signed sealed & delivered in presents of

Thomas T. Hendrick

Jacob his X mark Aaron

Hendrick Aupaumut 2

2 Captain Hendrik (Aupaumut) was a soldier in the American army, in the War of the Revolution, and is said to have received a captain's commission from the hands of Washington. In 1792, when the Stockbridges visited President Washington, Secretary-of-War Henry Knox commissioned him to undertake a mission to the Western tribes. His great influence with these tribes was thrown against Tecumseh, and he actively assisted Maj. Gen. William Henry Harrison in the campaign which ended in Tecumseh's defeat. He is said to have favored the plan in 1808–10, for forming settlements of all the Eastern Indians, in the White River country in Indiana, where, by 1818, there had been gathered about 800 of the Stockbridges. From here they were invited by the Outagamies to settle in the valley of the Fox, in Wisconsin. Later, they joined forces with the Munsees, Brothertowns, and Oneidas; and August 8, 1821, signed a treaty which entitled them to a strip of land about five miles wide, at Little Kaukauna. Hendrik Aupaumut's remains were buried at Kaukauna.— Ed.

John Metoxen 3

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3 John Metoxen was the head chief of the Stockbridge Christian party which left White River, Indiana, in the late summer or autumn of 1822, to take up their new lands in Wisconsin. It was the following year before the Stockbridges who had been left in New York, reached Wisconsin. Metoxen, who had been educated in the Moravian school at Bethlehem, Pa., was an orator of rare power, and frequently preached to his people. He died April 8, 1858, aged 87 years, and lies buried in the old Indian cemetery at Stockbridge. See biographical sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 303–305.— Ed.

John W. Quinney 4

4 Quinney was born in 1797, and received an English education at a high school in Yorktown, N. Y. Attaining the chieftaincy of the Stockbridges in Wisconsin, he was largely employed by his people, during thirty years, in the negotiation of treaties with the government of the United States. He died at Stockbridge July 21, 1855. See biographical sketches in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, pp. 305–311; also Quinney's speech and memorial, *Ibid.*, pp. 313–333.— Ed.

Solomon U. Hendrick 5

5 The son of Hendrik Aupaumut, and himself a chief of the Stockbridges. He was one of the negotiators of the treaty of 1821, which secured the Wisconsin lands for his tribe.— Ed.

Jesse Miner

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MINER TO THE STOCKBRIDGES.

To the Stockbridge Indians residing in Statesburgh M. T.

My Children —I thank the great & good Spirit who reigns above that he has allowed me to visit your Country & to speak to your people on their great & most important concerns; and that I have found so much of the light of divine truth & mercy shining in this wilderness.

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I want also gratefully [to] acknowledge the kind attention & respect which I have received from your people while I have resided among you. I shall gladly bear it in remembrance and carry it along with me to my home.

I hope my visit has not been altogether useless to your people & particularly to the infant church which is established among you: but this will be better known by the fruits which they hereafter bear in their lives. I regret that I am under the necessity of leaving you so soon: but duty & even your own moral & religious interests call me back. Since I have been with you I have as far as possible collected the christians together in regular church order, and confirmed their union by the most divine & heavenly seal the Lords Supper; & I have also administered the sacrament of Baptism to those who were proper subjects to receive it. I have revived the Sabbath School which I hope will be faithfully continued & your children caused to grow in the knowledge of their Maker & their Saviour. I have established among your young people & others a weekly meeting to read the Scriptures and receive instruction. This I hope will not be left to wither & die; but that an increasing spirit will be manifested by them to draw the waters of life from the sacred fountain, & that they will grow wiser & better as they advance in life. The improvement & virtue of your young people is your chief hope. Endeavor then with the greatest possible care to guard them from the habits of vice & wickedness & from the corrupt & soul destroying influence of ungodly white people. I wish your children & young people to reside among yourselves & not be sent down to the Bay; for tho' they may gain some present advantages there it will generally be found for them a school of vice & corruption and I had rather they would be poor than wicked, but temperance & industry will procure for them all the necessities of life at home. I have with your assistance surveyed a Section of Land where I hope soon

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a Mission will be established which will be a fountain of knowledge to your children and afford the stated ministry of the gospel to 43 your people generally: and that it will also be the means of spreading the light of truth around among the heathen Tribes in this region. But I think the success of this object depends to a considerable degree on your zeal & earnestness to effect it, and your manifesting this earnestness to the benevolent Societies at Boston & to the general Government. I shall hasten to the east & do all in my power to obtain the assistance of these benevolent Societies to which your petitions are sent for the accomplishment of this object. As soon as I receive information I shall write to you & let you know what to expect. In the mean time you will have my most earnest desires & prayers to Almighty God for your temporal & spiritual welfare—that you may be a light in this region of moral darkness & that the labors of those Missionaries who have lived & died among you may not be in vain.

Jesse Miner

Statesburgh Sept. 6, 1827.

PLAN OF THE MISSION.

Missionary Rooms, 1 Boston , April 26, 1828.

1 Of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.— Ed.

Rev. Jesse Miner, Present .

My Dear Sir ,—The committee have deliberated respecting the mission at Green Bay & have fixed upon the following principles —Viz.

2 d That this plan will not embrace a boarding school & if ever hereafter such a school shall be established it will be done gradually & not without the sanction of the Committee, expressed at the very beginning of the proceeding:

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3 d That this plan will not embrace a farm, or the keeping of stock, except two Cows & Swine & poultry.

4 That the first object will be to preach the Gospell to the Stockbridge Indians & to establish a good common school among them:

5 th That another object will to be to learn the character of the neighboring Tribes of Winnebagoes & Menommonies 44 to devise ways & means of getting access to them & of bringing a good influence to bear upon them. In order to the accomplishment of these purposes the committee direct that you & a part of your family go to Green Bay as soon as possible & establish yourselves at or near the Village of the Stockbridge Indians on the Fox River (We are quite inclined to think that it will be best for you to place yourselves so near the center of the Village as will secure the fullest attendance of Children at school & of the congregation on the Sabbath. You can probably get a few acres for garden & pasture, & perhaps a few acres for Corn. But if you could get but one acre for a garden, it would be better on the whole to live in the Village, than to attempt to manage a farm). A Schoolmaster will soon follow you who will board in your family and make a part of it.

As soon as can conveniently be done after your arrival at the place of your destination you will commence the erection of a small dwelling house: The size may be about 32 feet By 26. the first story eight feet in the clear, the 2d 7½ feet in the clear. It is greatly to be desired that the expenses should not exceed \$800. There should be a formal agreement with the Indians, that we should occupy the house & land so long a Mission or school shall be sustained there, & if By any unforeseen event the Mission should be removed or discontinued the Board shall have the privilege of selling the house to any of the Stockbridge Indians, or to any other persons with their approbation.—

We hope the expences of the mission will not exceed \$500. a year after the Building shall be erected & the family removed. Certainly there should be a constant effort to keep it within that sum, & \$600 must not be exceeded. In regard to the expences of the first year

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we wish them to be as small as possible consistently with comfort & true economy. Let no unnecessary articles be purchased, & no unnecessary furniture or implements be taken on.

It is to be hoped that you will be blessed in this service, & be the means of much good to the Indians. But if you

Mission House at Stockbridge (Engraving loaned by John N. Davidson.)

45 should in the course of Divine providence be disconnected with the Board, you will be entitled to take away any Books, implements, articles of furniture or wearing apparel which you may have carried thither, & such articles of bedding & wearing apparel as may then be in the actual use of yourself & family.

You will please to keep an accurate account of all expences, & transmit a copy of it quarterly. In the building department, & other necessary Labors, you will do all in your power to preserve economy of time & resources, & to secure property from harm & waste. Immediately on your arrival you will inquire into the spiritual condition of the Indians, & inform us how you find them in these respects.

As it is thought best that Mrs. Miner should not accompany you this year, you may probably leave her in such circumstances, [MS. torn] to make more expense to the Board than if she were with you.

Wishing you the Divine blessing, & praying that you may see an abundant reward of your labors. I am, Rev. Sir,

Yours affectionately Jer h . Evarts .1

1 Secretary of the American Board.— Ed.

Superscription: "Rev. Jesse Miner, New Stockbridge, Madison County New York."

REPORT OF MINER'S DEATH.

States Burgh Green Bay Michigan Territory . 23 d , March 1829

Dear Sir —I am the bearer of unwelcome intelligence I presume. Your Missionary M r . Miner is no more. He departed this life on Sunday Eve 22 d . Ins t . after an illness of about 4 weeks, which commenced with dysentery and terminated we think in Billious fever. He continued in possession of his reason to the last. Although the nature of his disorder was such that it occasioned considerable stupidity—he did not say much, during his sickness except 46 when interrogated. Some five or six days previous to his death he sent for the elders of the church and expressed a deep solicitude for their welfare, suggesting the probability of his speedy dissolution—and in few words giving them something of a charge concerning their people, also manifesting his resignation to the will of God in all his dispensations, and his confidence in the merits of his Saviour. He continued to the last steadfast in the faith which he had so long preached others. I asked him previous to his death a few hours if he longed to depart and be with Christ which is far better and he replied in the affirmative. And his death is only to be regretted as it is the end of his usefulness on earth. The past six weeks has been fraught with distressing and important providences to our family, and this people. Six weeks we buried our babe—the youngest of Mr. Miner's children 13 months old—and Eliphalet has been sick more than 7 weeks and is now a mere skeleton rather more likely to recover [than] he was a few days ago. Henry also, the next younger, 3 years of age, was taken sick the same time with Eliphalet. He has in a great measure recovered. The complaints seem to be inflammatory bowel complaints, with billions obstruction. Not an endemic. But mostly attributable to our diet I think. They have been under the care and direction of Doct Foot¹ of the Fort 20 miles distant who could not see them often. Mr. Miner left his business in something of an unfinished situation owing mostly to his unexpected departure. The house is not quite completed—would have been had it not been for the sickness of our family which prevented the joiners from working in the house. The house below is finished and three

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rooms plastered. The chambers are not lathed and the garret floor is not laid which is but short jobb. When we were taken sick the joiners could not work in the house. Mr. Miner thought to have them get out timber for a small barn, accordingly they scored and sawed timber sufficient for a

1 Dr. Lyman Foot, then post surgeon of Fort Howard. He was eminent in his profession. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 77, 78, 145.— Ed.

47 barn 35 x 26 — and in the mean time our family became so sick that it was thought expedient to dismiss the workmen and lessen our family. The timber is piled up to await orders. We have loggs to the mill sufficient to make boards to cover the barn. There is also nearly nails enough. Mrs. Miner and family are desirous to return to their former place of residence, and it is probably advisable for them to return. They wait your orders. Will expect provision For their return. And am anxious to return as soon as may be possible, on account of the hot weather — please direct particularly — the widow has a few articles of furniture to small which [it] would not be best [to] carry back—some allowance might be seasonable—such as large table, stand, clock, some Iron ware &c. The mission house realised the avails of a saddle & bridle \$14 belonging to Mrs. M. There are some articles here on the hands of the Board not necessary to be retained, such as a boat cost \$[7, a horse \$40, harness \$15, chest Tools \$50, very high. There is also a cart, plow, Irons, two chairs, many other tools which may be necessary for a family, two cows, one hog \$6, 15 Bushels wheat, 10 s Bushell, 3 bushells Timothy seed, 1 clover. Our expences for so large a family though not inconsiderable, will probably be less for some time to come except some clothes necessary for the children. With respect to myself I hear nothing from you since I came here contrary to my expectations. It is my desire to stay among this people for boom I think I feel a deep solitud. I have taught their school 3 months, which closed 3 weeks since, on account of the sickness of our family. Electa Quinney,¹ a competent native Teacher, will probably take charge of the school this summer and be paid from public funds of the Indians. The Indians have

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1 A Stockbridge woman, who had been trained at a mission school at Cornwall, Conn., and taught among her people in New York before their removal to Wisconsin. September 17, 1832, she opened a mixed public school at Kaukauna. Later, she married Rev. Daniel Adams, an early Wisconsin missionary. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 453–465, for documents relating to early schools at Green Bay.— Ed.

48 agreed with Mr. M. to pay me \$24 per month for teaching the winter school. If you think it inexpedient to appoint me as a missionary I can retire, but I choose to be appointed. I have kept an accurate account of expenditures since Mr. M's sickness and will undertake to make the returns for the last quarter ending March 13th 1829

1 Letter unsigned, but evidently the writer was Augustus T. Ambler, a physician as well as teacher. He arrived at Statesburg, November 4, 1828 (according to Davidson). His health becoming bad, he was succeeded in August, 1829, by Rev. Jedidiah Dwight Stevens. Ambler died in 1831 at a Choctaw mission.— Ed.

MARSH'S REPORT TO THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY, 1831.2

2 Cutting Marsh was, as has been previously explained, the American Board's missionary to the Stockbridges from 1830 until 1848; at the same time, he was the missionary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which had for many years given some financial support to the Stockbridge mission. This is the first of Marsh's annual reports to the Scottish Society.— Ed.

Statesburgh near Green Bay Michigan Ter . May 2 d 1831

To the Sec. of the Soc. in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir — Having been certified by the Rev. Dr. [John] Codman Sec ry of your Board in Boston Mass. of my appointment by your venerable Soc. as Miss ry amongst the

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Stockbridge Indians residing near Green Bay, with much pleasure & gratitude I now address my communications to you relative to these Indians.

I shall first give a brief account of their situation from the death of their lamented Missionary the Rev. Jesse Miner which took place in March 22 d 1829; and my arrival which was May 1. 1830. At the time of his death they were enjoying an interesting revival of religion which commenced the Summer previous. The good work stopped at his death, but the number of hopeful converts was considerable for a Settlement no larger than theirs at the time; besides it seemed to renovate the hearts of those who had been members of the 49 church previously, some of whom on account of their removal had grown very cold in religion & others had greatly backslidden. They were now left like sheep without a shepherd, for the School Teacher on account of the multitude of cares & secular business which in consequence devolved upon him was unable to give but little religious instruction, besides his health soon failed & after my arrival was obliged to leave. Still they kept up their meetings regularly both on the Sab. & week-days & carried them on themselves. So far as I have been able to judge of that work from a years' observation it was truly genuine: for the church is now almost a new one in respect to feeling & none who united with it as the fruits of that revival have as yet been excommunicated.

The Settlement of the Stockbridge Indians is situated upon the S. E. side of the Fox river; near what is called the Grand Kaccalin or Big rapids, about 21 miles from its mouth where it empties into Green Bay, and extends along on the river about four miles in length and from one & a half to two in breadth. It was commenced in 1822 & has been receiving accessions from time to time from the State of N York ever since. The whole number of souls now belonging to it is 225 including some who been adopted from other Tribes.

Over this plot of ground which but a few years ago was all a wilderness they are scattered in neighborhoods & families, each man having a farm of his own or as much land as he can clear & cultivate altho. as yet their farms are small. They live in houses constructed of logs & covered with oaken shingles, all of them have floors & the crevices. in the sides of the

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house are filled with mortar; the chimneys are made by cutting out the logs in the end of the house 7 or 8 feet in length & about the same in height, this vacancy is filled with stones & mortar this forms the fire place without any jambs and the top of the chimney is made, of sticks & thatched clay so that when well constructed they are in but little danger from fire, and having a plenty 5 50 of wood their houses in winter are very comfortable. Their barns are also constructed of logs. They have a saw-mill and intend soon if not compelled to remove to build a gristmill. The unsettled state which they have been in since they came to this country has prevented them from building framed houses or barns or a convenient place for public worship, & now they are under the necessity of meeting in a log-school-house. There is a small two story, framed house & barn attached to this Station in which the Mission family reside; these buildings are pleasantly situated on the banks of the Fox r[iver].

Most of the families have some stock either oxen or cows, some both, besides poultry & hogs. As a nation this tr[ibe] is very poor, in consequence of removal, the dissipated habits of many belonging to it, the difficulties in wh. they have been involved since they came and for the want of sufficient encouragement; so that as yet they have not raised enough in the nation for the supply of their wants, altho. there are no families but what raise something every year.

The climate is healthy, altho' there has been much suffiness for a year past, and more deaths than in any year since their removal. The winters cold, the summers warm, not excessively hot & vegetation rapid. The soil clayey, and of a reddish cast, not remarkable for fertility, tho' sufficiently so to produce, with suitable cultivation, all of the necessities of life.

It is now one year since my arrival amongst these Indians. I was on the first Sabbath struck with the stillness which prevailed in the Settlement as I proceeded to the place of worship and nothing which I witnessed was calculated to disturb the repose of the sacred day. I could at first hardly persuade myself that I was on Missionary ground when on

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my way to this place I had passed thro' many a white settlement where if their secular business was suspended (which was very often not the case) it seemed to be rather a holiday than the holy Sab[bath]. I have since found that the Sab. here is generally observed, all kinds of labour are suspended, & many of them observe it with great strictness. And when I arrived at the place of worship, which is not large, I found it filled with decently clad, and apparently devout worshippers. There is on the Sab. a very general attendance at meeting, & better order & more stillness I have seldom witnessed in assemblies of white people than uniformly prevail here. The singing is conducted wholly by themselves and they are very fond of it, have excellent natural voices & would excel provided they had suitable instruction in the art.

On the Sab. I preach twice, besides attending to the S[unday] S[chool]. Sometimes I expound a chap in the Bible & in the P.M. I have an interpreter on account of some of the old people who do not well understand the english language. In the eve. there is a third meeting at which the members of the church take a part. Once a week I have a meeting of inquiry for such as are anxious about their souls; on Wed[nesday] a meeting for reading the Scr[iptures] and then explain to them the meaning, this I have generally found to be a profitable meeting as it affords an opportunity for explaining the Scr[s]. in a familiar manner & of asking questions, which I do not have at other times. And on Fri. there is a meeting designed specially for the church & some of these meetings are truly interesting & refreshing seasons.

The Monthly Concert of prayer has been better attended than usual the winter past, & attended too with a good degree of interest.

The S. School is a very interesting & powerful means of grace. Of this the school Teacher Mr. J[edidiah] D[wight] Stevens has the charge & has been very successful in securing a punctual attendance of the children. Between 30 & 40 children and young people usually attend besides numbers of the old people who receive instruction at the same time in the lesson. Mr. S. the School Teacher received his appointment last Summer from the Am.

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Board and entered upon the duties, assigned him in Aug. There is no boarding school attached to this Station. All of the children board at home, this occasions much irregularity 52 in their attendance and it requires incensing effort to secure anything like a regular attendance, because many of the parents do not restrain and govern their children in a proper manner. The whole number of children of a suitable age to attend school is about 69 but the number wh. actually attend the school varies from 30 to 40.

In March there was a quarterly examination. The School was divided into four classes. The first was examined in reading, spelling, writing & geography, the 2d. in reading, spelling & Colburn's Arithmetic, the 3d and fourth in reading & spelling, besides answering many questions of a practical kind. The whole examination was highly creditable to the scholars & evinced that they had made laudable improvement in their studies during the winter. The decent dress, cleanly appearance & good behaviour of the children on the occasion, as well as their state of improvment in knowledge formed a delightful & striking contrast betwixt the children of their fathers before any christian Missionary visited them bearing the glad tidings of the gospel, and also betwixt multitudes of squalid, half clad children in the wilderness beyond and even about us, who know nothing of the blessings of civilisation or of the gospel. Many of the parents were present & expressed a high degree of satisfaction. One of the head-men at the close arose, shook hands with the Teacher (which is customary with Indians when going to address any one) and with tears in his eyes, said "I thank God he has given you so much knowledge to come here & teach our children."

The church consists of forty-three members, many of whom were gathered in as fruits of the revival whilst Mr. Miner was living. They generally walk orderly, many adorn their profession, and on the whole appear to give as much evidence of personal piety as members of churches generally amongst white people. Many of them appear emphatically to be brands plucked from the burning; having been in times past very much addicted to intemperance with its kindred vices. To mention one example. The case of an old man whose name is Bartholomew Calvin, 53 Delaware by nation, who is now 70 years

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of age. In 1771 or 2 at the solicitation of the Soc. in Scotland I believe for Propagating Christian Knowledge he was selected by the Rev. John Brainerd, brother of David B.¹ in order to give him a liberal education; but in his second year in college, the funds failed in consequence of the revolutionary war and he was obliged to abandon his studies. For many years afterwards he taught school and about 25 years ago united with a (baptist) church, but became intemperate & at times drank excessively, still from time to time the upbraidings of his conscience were very severe & sometimes he would resolve on reformation, yet so strong was the habit, that he as often broke his resolutions & ruin seemed inevitable. But God in the riches of his grace & mercy saw fit to rescue him when he seemed ripe for an aggravated destruction after he had drunk of the intoxicating cup until reason & intellect were almost destroyed. In the way above mentioned he lived until about 3 years ago when the revival commenced under the Rev. Mr. M[ine]r preaching, he was then awakened and is now an eminent example of temperance & sobriety. Seldom have I seen one who appears to possess more of the grace of humility, this is manifest in all his deportment, but especially in prayer, here he seems a suppliant indeed. His humility seems to arise from a deep sense of the sinfulness & depravity of his heart by nature and of the greatness & holiness of God. When inquiring of him at a certain time respecting his feelings,. "Sometimes," he replied, "my sins rise so high before me and appear so great, that I inquire is it possible that such a sinner as I am ever to be saved?" At another time, at a church meeting when the members were expressing their feelings in turn "I have," says he, "a great many doubts (about myself) that I am not a christian, because I see so much sin in my heart. Still I find something within which hates those very thoughts & feelings which arise there, so that I am encouraged still to

¹ David Brainerd was a celebrated missionary among the Stockbridges, in Massachusetts. He commenced his work in 1743.— Ed.

54 hope and now I am an old man & must soon die and it: seems as tho' satan was more busy & the conflict became more severe the nearer I draw to the close of life. But I am *determined* that if I *must perish* to perish at the feet of my divine Lord & Master." One

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circumstance more I can. not forbear to mention as it will show the state of his mind under severe trials. Last winter when the measles prevailed amongst the children, his only son who is but a lad had them and for a while his recovery was doubtful. But the old man viewed distinctly the hand of God in this dispensation of providence & was afraid he was going to cut off his only son from the land of the living so that his name would be no more remembered. (This I believe is characteristic of the Indian almost as much as it was of the Jews. He looks upon it as a great calamity not leave a son behind him to keep alive his name) But he bowed with a childlike submission and says "It is fit that God should take away this my *only son* & thus cause that the *name* of such a sinner as I have been should rot in oblivion." Having brought up his family in that irregular manner which every man who leads a life as he did, it could not be expected, that they would when old afford him much consolation; still some of them conduct well & one of his daughters is now a member of the church and gives abundant evidence of being a christian. Perhaps many more of those beloved christians who prayed & contributed for the support of this man when a youth have long since gone to rest, but I trust they will ere long meet him in heaven; & if any still remain it may be interesting to them to know that after between 50 & 60 years their prayers are heard & answered. Tho' seed lie buried long in dust it shan't deceive their hope."

The Deacons of the church John Metoxen & Jacob [C.] Chicks are interesting & exemplary men and "use the office of a Deacon well. " The former is at present the head man in the nation. His natural talents are respectable; he is judicious & discerning & perhaps no one possesses more influence in the nation—modest & affectionate but yet decided in his opinions. He is old & gray-headed and he looks forward to the time when he must die, this seems to increase his anxiety to do his people good. It is pleasing yet affecting to see & hear him at times addressing his people. He is rather large in stature and comely in his appearance and when he speaks to his people it is like an aged father to his beloved children, whilst tears trickle down his aged cheeks, until his feelings become too big for utterance, still the intensity of his feelings never betray him into anything boisterous or

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fanatical, whilst he presses upon their minds & consciences the all important truths of the gospel. His wife is also a member of the church & adorns her profession. His only son gives some evidence of having experienced a change of heart the winter past.

The latter Jacob C. is a man of more talents & has been a great speaker, but was irregular in his habits until about three years ago when he broke off altogether from drinking & is now an example of piety, temperance, sobriety and industry. His wife is also a member of the church. Last winter his family were greatly afflicted by sickness & death. He buried a daughter & three grandchildren. The dying counsel of his daughter, whom we hope died a christian appeared to be blessed to the awakening of some of his children, particularly his oldest son who had been a profligate youth, altho' he was three years in the foreign Mission School at Cornwell Conn. He now appears to be a christian and if he holds out his talents & acquisitions in knowledge will enable him to do much good. These afflictions the parents bore with christian fortitude and when speaking of them says the father "I think them good because it be the means of awakening my other children."

During the year I have been with them a number of cases of discipline & suspension for a time have occurred but none of excommunication. There has been one death in the church and six belonging to the tribe have been added by a profession of faith and two (the school-Teacher & his 56 wife) by letter. One adult & fourteen children have been baptised.

A Temperance Soc. was formed about a year ago which now numbers about 70 males & females and exerts a very salutary influence. It embraces all of the most respectable part of our little community; altho' some at times have fallen away, yet in some cases the course pursued by the Soc. which was to have a Corn. of vigilance to visit delinquents, has proved effectual in reclaiming them, but a large majority of the members have entirely abstained from ardent spirits since they joined the society.

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A Maternal Association was also formed last fall for the mothers of the church which seems to promise much good.

The winter past has been distinguished for judgements & mercies. In the fore part of it the measles went thro' the whole Settlement & more or less in almost every family had them, still only one infant child died of them, but consumptions and other disorders carried off a number of children & young people. Still others of the young people for a while appeared very houghtless & indifferent about their souls & were in the habit of meeting together & having dancing parties. At length I preached upon the subject on the Sab. & specially reminded them of God's dealings with their people for a few months past; and concluded by warning them in a very solemn manner to beware of such places and practices as they valued their souls & would escape the torments of hell. But alas! I have fearful reason for believing that in respect to one of those youths who thus met together, that the message of the gospel proved speedily "a savour of death unto death." For instead of listening to the warning, which was then doubtless timely had it been kindly received, some of them were offended and turned a deaf ear. For after meeting they met together & agree to & have a drinking frolick. Of this number was a young who had a pious mother, brother and sister who were faithful to him; but he heeded not their counsel. Besides he had been one year at the 57 foreign mission school before mentioned. And whilst the last golden sands of life were running he was engaged from time to time in dancing parties, this seemed to render his mind callous against all serious impressions. According to agreement he set out on this same eve (Sab.) for Green Bay (20 miles distant) contrary to the earnest solicitations of his friends who wished him to attend meeting. And after being absent two or three days they set out to return home but in a state of intoxication. But it seemed as tho' God would not be trifled with, nor suffer his laws & judgements to be trampled under foot with impunity. Part of this company stopped by the way but this young man with one other kept on; at length night came on it was exceeding cold & stormy, but it was his last for he froze to death. Alas how unlike the night, how changed the scene from what it was just one week previous which he spent at a dancing party. Little did he think whilst he danced along

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upon the brink of eternity that death had marked him for his victim & was making ready his arrow upon the string that those earthly pleasures with which he was fascinated served only to lull him into greater security, so as to render the shock of death more terrible. His comrade succeeded in getting to a house but with the greatest difficulty, but was so benumbed with cold & intoxicated, that he thought nothing of his companion. This awful stroke of divine providence put an effectual stop to these amusements for the winter and it does appear to me that it has been blessed to the good of some. Since about that time the cause of Christ seems to have been gaining ground, christians have been more prayerful religious meetings more solemn and a number have been inquiring to know what they shall do to be saved. Four or five give some evidence of having passed from death to life. Those who seem to give evidence of a change of heart amongst these Indians, are but, as it were, babes in Christ, they need constant watchfulness, for they are surrounded with strong temptations the strength of which christians abroad cannot easily conceive. Besides for 3 or 4 years 58 past they have been involved in difficulties respecting their lands; a detail of which I shall not here attempt. Suffice it to say that these troubles have in a great measure paralyzed their efforts to improve their farms & erect framed buildings—have been very depressing to their spirits, consequently their progress in habits of civilisation has been much retarded. They sent a Delegation last winter to Washington in order to lay the subject before Congress, but I believe nothing was accomplished. Should they be compelled to remove again I fear it would entirely ruin the tribe; for it is reduced exceedingly low & has been very much scattered in consequence of its removal from the state of N. York.

About one hundred of the Oneida tribe which left the state of N. York last Summer have joined the Stockbridge Indians, settled down upon the Fox r. 2 or 3 miles above them, built convenient houses and some of them have begun to clear up farms in a business-like manner.

A few individuals amongst them appear to give evidence of piety; They hold meetings amongst themselves on the Sabbath & week days and half of the day on the Sabbath the

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school Teacher or myself meet with them and give them religious instruction and after meeting have a S. School for the children when from 20 to 25 attend.

Besides the Indians already mentioned who have emigrated from the State of N. York; there are about 300 of the Oneida tribe settled about 20 miles distant on what is called Duck Creek. They are of the Episcopal order and at present have no Missionary or religious Teacher, their Miss ry the Rev Eleazer Williams¹ has been absent during the winter upon public business at the Seat of Government. There is a church amongst them; but for a year past they have had no schools (except about one month) nor S. Schools. Scarcely any either old or young can read

¹ The so-called "French dauphin." Williams's career has been fully outlined in numerous volumes of *Wis Hist. Colls.*, and *Procs.*, q.v. See also, Wight's "Eleazer Williams," *Parkman Club Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896), i, pp. 133–203.— Ed.

⁵⁹ intelligently in the English language. The Rev. R. F. Cadle¹ who labours under the patronage of the protestant Epis. church has a boarding school at Green Bay containing at present about 50 children, most of them however are only half & quarter Indian.

¹ See "Documents relating to the Episcopal church and mission in Green Bay, 1825–41," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 450–515.— Ed.

The Stockbridge Indians are situated in part amongst the tribe of Menominie Indians, but who are in a wretched, degraded state; nothing as yet has been accomplished towards civilising them and they are fast wasting away be fore that dreadful scourge intemperance with its kindred vices. The whole number of the tribe is reckoned at 4,200. And not one of them knows anything experimentally of the religion of Jesus Christ.

It was peculiarly pleasing to witness the satisfaction & gratitude which the S. Indians expressed when they heard the letter read which the Rev. Dr. Codman Sec ry of your Board in Boston Mass. sent announcing my appointment as their Missionary, by wh. they ascertained that the venerable Soc. to whose kindness and liberality, they were so much

indebted had not forgotten them. This is a powerful support to their minds in the midst of their troubles as well as a strong consolation to know that christians abroad are labouring and praying for them. Be assured Dear Sir, that the Society and christians in Scotland are not forgotten by the little band of christians who have so long been nourished & supplied by their your alms with the Bread of Life, in this far distant region in their daily supplications at the throne of divine grace, tho' the ocean rolls between and they are separated by many a hill & valley. They may indeed be said to be the poor of this world, yet thro' the instrumentality of the Missionaries which your venerable Soc. has sent to them and supported, some have been made rich in faith and heirs of the heavenly inheritance, and others doubtless have already entered into Rest.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge May 2d 1831."

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EXTRACTS FROM MARSH'S JOURNAL, DURING THE BLACK HAWK WAR.1

1 The settlers in the valley of the Lower Fox feared that Black Hawk, now being pursued by the white troops under Gen. Henry Atkinson, would attempt to escape towards the northeast, and thus involve this region in the broil.— Ed.

Sab. [June] 17th. Rainy and cold. Mind completely distracted in consequence of reports of Indn. hostilities. Heard that the Sacs, Foxes some Pottawottamies and Winnebagoes were about 70 miles fr[om] Ft. Winnebago. Found it difficult & almost impossible to keep my mind off fr[om] t[he] subject. Still found some relief in prayer to God.

* * * * *

Tues. 19th. Weather very pleasant. In t[he] A.M. attempted to study but could accomplish but little, mind being constantly filled with distressing apprehensions of Indn. aggressions. Still feel it is wrong to distrust the goodness & mercy of God, for he can preserve me and

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my people & station atho' a host sh[oul]d rise up against us. At times I find relief in prayer and can trust all with God & then ere I am aware my mind is in the very midst of the enemy or I am planning some means of defense or destruction to the foe in case of an attack, and seem almost to see & hear their approach & savage yell —or feel t[he] poisoned arrow & tomahawk—But again I recall my wandering thoughts and strive to fix them on my subject & God, but these subjects alas! seem like strangers or unwelcome guests after such vagaries of the mind.

* * * * *

Thurs. 21. Visited some and returned at dusk, & it was reported that t[he] Sacs &c were about 70 m. fr[om] t[he] Portage and coming this way; all was immediately alarm & confusion. Mr & Mrs. S[tevens] passed t[he] night with us, but there was little sleep in t[he] Mitssion] house during t[he] n[ight]. I felt at first somewhat alarmed, & disconcerted, but was enabled I trust to find relief in prayer; and that in some measure I could say t[he] L[ord] of Hosts is with us t[he] G[od] of Jacob is our refuge—And that I 61 could fleeing to t[he] blood of t[he] everlasting covenant commend myself & t[he] interests of this Mission to t[he] God of Missns, even if I must now close my earthly career. Walked to & fro for some time up & down about t[he] Missn. ho[use] t[he] latter part of t[he] n[ight] feeling that there was a possibility that I might discover or be surprised by a deadly foe—The moon shone beautifully all was calm & quiet around, & nothing to break t[he] stillness of t[he] scene but t[he] murmuring of t[he] waters in t[he] F[ox] river. Still every thing appeared to wear a melancholy appearance because I knew not what dangers awaited me, nor but that it might be near—But that from t[he] woods, or bushes I might hear them coming to do their dreadful, & tragical work of murdering & scalping both old & young—But t[he] morn. returned I had slept after t[he] day began to dawn,—t[he] sun shone into my room pleasantly & t[he] morn. seemed to smile and I arose thankful as I truly hope for t[he] kind preservation of t[he] n[ight] and that midnight alarm had [not] been permitted to disturb our dwelling.

* * * * *

Mon. 25th. Weather very fine in t[he] A.M. Spent t[he] time in going to see some of t[he] head-men but accomplished nothing. Still in a state of suspense & we are constantly hearing contradictory reports respecting t[he] Indns. some feeling that there is no danger, and t[he] Sacs &c will not come here but others, that they probably will Held a consultation respecting Mr. St[evens']s family going to Green Bay in order to be out of danger provided there should be an attack of t[he] Inds. but no decision was made—O Ld. direct that I, nor any entrusted with t[he] concerns of this Missn. may err, or do anything for wh. we shall be sorry hereafter. Saw French & Inds. passing down upon t[he] opposite side of t[he] r[iver] went across & had an interview with them. Heard that a party of Sacs had been killed by a band of white men & 25 Winnebagoes, & their scalps brot. in near the Blue M[oun]d if I rightly recollect,—That they were daily expecting them 62 at Ft. Winnebago, & were only one day & a half's march fr[om] t[he] latter place. The whole number supposed to be not far fr[om] 8 or 10 hundred.

That 8 white men had been massacred at Galena & the B[ue] M[oun]ds. That they had told t[he] Winneba, goes that they wanted to have them get out of their way for if they did not they might step on them, and that they did not wish to hurt them but they wanted to kill t[he] white men—And also that t[he] tracks of 5 Sacs had been seen betwixt the B[utte] Dies] Mort and L[ake] W[innebago] Alas! What trials & troubles await this Missn. I know not. When I look at my own unfaithfulness, and ill-desert, as well as at my sins and the sins of this people I feel, that we are deserving of all t[he] calamities of war & even unspeakably more, banishment fr[om] his presence eternally, but O! his mercy & forbearance I desire to plead towards myself & people & altho' my crimes are black as hell, yet with *thee* there is forgiveness & plenteous redemption, that thou mightest be sought unto in this hour of perplexity and trouble. In t[he] eve. endeavoured to seek relief in prayer & hope that in some measure I did, & retired at a late hour but t[he] news of t[he] day, conversation &c. would not permit me to rest; often woke during t[he] n[ight] with

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some burden upon my mind,—rose & looked out but could see nothing, retired again after commending myself anew to God, and enjoyed some refreshing sleep. But was awaked very early by t[he] firing of guns and t[he] stir of t[he] family, and felt as tho' I could indeed give thanks to G[od] for t[he] light of returning day—How many have slept to wake no more, but I am still spared— God grant that it may be to live for thee and thee only—felt as tho' before God I could resolve if He would deliver me from this trouble, and continue unto us t[he] blessings of peace I would do more than I ever have done to promote his glory, and t[he] salvation of souls. Still my own strength is perfect weakness, and unless I am imbued with grace and wisdom fr[om] on high I shall not keep this resolution.

* * * * *

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Wed. 27. Mr. Sherman & Mrs. S. Mr. and Mrs. Stevens left for Gr[een] Bay, passed the remainder of the week alone, both in peace & quietness, had but little fears fr[om] t[he] invasion of the Sacs. Still felt during t[he] week as tho' G[od] w[oul]d preserve me & this missn. and as tho' I could rest upon t[he] words of t[he] Ld. to Hezekiah when Sennacherib came against Jerusalem. Therefore saith t[he] Ld. G[od] concerning [the] Kg. of Assyria, He shall not come into this city nor shoot an arrow there. Isa. 37:33. Lord may I never presume upon thy goodness & mercy, but guide me in t[he] way thou wouldst have me to go.

* * * * *

July 6th. * * * Saw John Whistler who had just returned fr[om] Lead Mines. Heard of some shocking barbarities. That t[he] Sacs shot two men, one a Lieut (Force) belonging to a F[or]t (at t[he] Mines I believe) cut off his head, peeled up t[he] breast bone, took t[he] heart and cut off slices fr[om] t[he] fleshy parts of t[he] body to eat.¹

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1 George Force was killed while scouting near Blue Mounds Fort, June 20, 1832. In his company was Emmerson Green. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, *index*, for references to this affair.— Ed.

Alas! how brutal, how is man turned to be worse than wild beasts of the forest for they devour when pressed with pinching hunger, but these to gratify a spirit of revenge.

Gen Dodge killed another Indn. a chief of a band in a skirmish, and after snapping his gun at him 3 times, came at him with his spear, and when within pistol shot killed, and he scalped him, and he had tied in t[he] back part of his hair what appeared to be t[he] scalp of a white child. This band fought until they died, & one when actually dying continued to cry, how, how, wh[ich] was t[he] same as fight. The Sacs were then stationed in a fortified place on a point of land in a Lake called² [name omitted in MS.]

2 Probably a reference to the so-called Battle of the Peckatonica, fought June 16, 1832. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.* for numerous accounts of this sanguinary skirmish.— Ed.

64 and provided they made their escape would probably cross F[ox] r[iver] somewhere, and perhaps, some of them come to this place—Mr. S. returned fr[om] the Bay and spent t[he] Sab.

* * * * *

July 10th. Mr & Mrs. S. having returned late t[he] previous eve. in order to prepare to go East perhaps, was very busily employed in assisting them to start. Much confused in mind as well as weary in body from want of rest t[he] night previous.

* * * * *

Thurs. 19th. a band of Winnebagoes called at t[he] Mission house wh[o] were on their way to Gr[een] B[ay] preparing to go out on a war excursion, one having a large spear, t[he] blade perhaps a foot & a half long, and the handle covered with red baize, another carried

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t[he] colors among other things with which it was ornamented was a pice of a Sac Indns. scalp. Some of them were painted red and had horses tails so adjusted upon their heads that the hair all hung down upon their shoulders, and upon the crown of the head was a plume, and another still carried a sort of drum wh[ich] t[he] natives make use of in dancing, which they beat on with a stick, and is a kind of tamborine—Their behavior was perfectly civil and after tarrying a short time they went on their way.¹

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266–298, for documentary material bearing upon the “Stambaugh Expedition” of Menomonees and French Canadians, in the Black Hawk War. — Ed.

On Tues. two men arrived fr[om] t[he] U.S. army stating that t[he] Sacs had retreated and gone towards Milwake perhaps 80 m. fr[om] Gr. Bay—

* * * * *

Friday 27th * * * Saw perhaps 50 of the Menominies who were on their way up the Fox r[iver] on a war expedition to join the U.S. army against the hostile Sacs. They appeared indeed thoughtless as sheep bound to the slaughter. Their painted faces, ornaments, drums, whistles, 65 war clubs, spears &c. &c. made them appear indeed savage and warlike. Their songs uttered from t[he] throat, consisting in deep guttural sounds and very loud without distinction in sounds seemed most like the singing of frogs, and t[he] occasional whoop was calculated to make one feel that darkness and moral death still broods over this region, removed at a very considerable distance from t[he] peaceful abodes of civilization, and peace. The contrast seemed very striking and impressive when compared with the stillness and order wh[ich prevailed] among a company of their brethren & kindred according to the flesh who were collected in a house wh[ich] they passed, consulting upon the interests of the Redeemers Kingdom.

SCOTTISH REPORT FOR 1832.

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Statesburg &C, Aug. 1st.

To the Sec of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir —i feel it a duty to make an apology for not writing you before; but an absence of some months from my station by permission from the Am. Board, & Indian hostilities after my return have prevented. In consequence of these things a pressure of business & cares have combined to protract the time of making my return since the trouble ceased.

In taking a review of the last year & a quarter I see much to encourage & deplore—God is doing great things for Zion in christian lands whereof we are glad; he is pouring out his spirit on some of the Missionary stations among the heathen & multiplying converts to righteousness. For these manifestations of his power & grace we rejoice & bless his holy name. I feel that I have abundant cause for unfeigned Gratitude to God for his goodness to this Mission also. During this time he has appeared in glory to build up Zion amongst these Indians, and very considerably enlarged the number of the friends & followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. But I have to lament the paralysing effect which t[he] difficulties in wh[ich] they have been involved for some years past, respecting their lands, have had upon their feelings & the shade wh[ich] it has cast over their prospects. These things place a strong barrier in the way of our usefulness by distracting their minds, subjecting them to great expense and consumes not only much of their time but in various ways of our own. Still upon the whole there is a perceptible improvement from year to year in habits of industry & sobriety & an increase in religious knowledge. I have witnessed with great satisfaction more attention to their business, & to t[he] cultivation of their land than there was t[he] first year that I resided amongst them; and their families have been far better supplied with the necessaries & conveniences of life. Amongst that part of t[he] tr[ibe] upon whose hearts the gospel has not as yet produced a saving effect there has been far less drinking & carousing.

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But t[he] work of reformation is not yet accomplished, for whilst I see much to encourage, there is still much to deplore and a work of years remains to be done. There is a great deal of indolence peculiar to the natives in an uncivilised state & many relics of paganism still cleaving to them, besides there is manifested in t[he] native character a degree of fickleness which is trying both to faith & patience. But I hope it produces in some measure this effect to make us cease trusting in man, & to be more cautious in judging according to t[he] outward appearance

The Temp[erance] Soc[iety] wh[ich] I mentioned as numbering at that time 70 members now contains about 100 & its effects are very apparent in t[he] peace & quietness wh[ich] is enjoyed in families & neighborhoods where before wretchedness & discord prevailed.

As the fruit of t[he] revival which I mentioned in the, winter of 1831 ten united with t[he] ch[urch] at t[he] season of communion in Aug. & Oct. three of whom were baptised. Some of these were young people of much promise & have continued to give increasing evidence of a change of heart. Meetings thro the season both on t[he] Sab. & week days were well attended & solemn, still there appeared to be no particular attention to t[he] subject of religion until t[he] latter part of fall & the first of winter. About this time christians began to awake, & to do their duty, & sinners also to inquire what they must do to be saved. The first of Jan. a morn. prayer-meeting was established commencing at sunrise, & often before that time, neither cold or snow or the early hour preventing, they would assemble for prayer; and whilst thus united & engaged God heard and answered. Many, even amongst th[ose] most dissipated & abandoned in t[he] tr[ibe] were awakened & hopefully converted; & by their sober, regular habits as well as by their conversation, as yet give evidence of having passed from death unto life. But some opposed, & whilst t[he] truth like t[he] fire & t[he] hammer appeared to break & melt many hard hearts & led them to bow in sweet submission to Christ, others seemed only to become more & more hardened.

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In July nine united with t[he] church, six of whom received t[he] ordinance of baptism, and it was indeed solemn & joyful season to see so many coming forward & joining themselves to t[he] Lord. But whilst I rejoice it is with trembling for they are emphatically the “little ones” in t[he] family of Christ & stand in constant need of all that cherishing & watchfulness which children do when surrounded by strong temptations. (We use much caution in admitting members, & put them on trial usually three months before they are admitted.) They are usually put on trial three months before received into t[he] Church. I hope that christians in Scotland will ever remember this little flock in their supplications rescued by the grace of God from the destroyer, and cherished by their benefactions, that they may be kept & be enabled to adorn their profession. Another circumstance wh[ic]h added to the interest of the season just mentioned was, that the delegation wh[o] had spent the winter in 68 Washington had just returned, & sat down with us at the table of the Lord and God had also delivered us from all our fears of t[he] hostile Indians.

John Hunt, one of the number who came forward was the sixth of a family of Munsees wh[ic]h has united with t[he] church since it emigrated from t[he] state of N. York, a few years ago; and at that time every member of it was in pagan darkness. But now two only remain out of the ch[urch] and they are children. Until last winter John retained all of his pagan habits, pursuing t[he] chase for a subsistence, & all he could get besides a scanty living he expended for ardent spirits; and doubtless was one of the most dissipated in the tr[ibe]. But where sin has abounded, grace appears much more to abound, for he seems to be literally a new man, & thus far an example of temperance & sobriety & by his conversation also seems to show that a work of grace has been begun in his heart. Two of this interesting family have died. The last Thomas Simons died in May at Cataraugus N. Y. where he went last fall (1831) to visit his friends. When relating his feelings at a religious meeting, “Before I cam here,” says he, “all was dark. I knew nothing about these things, and I was advised by t[he] old people to learn to read t[he] Bible.” He immediately commenced, & being very persevering in whatever he undertook, he was soon able to understand a little in t[he] N[ew] T[estament]. “There says he, “I found that I was a sinner,

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but I found also that a Savior had been provided for such, & I was led to believe on him. This makes me happy. And now altho. I am a great sinner & deserve to be sent down to hell, yet I will praise him for his great goodness to me & I mean to try to serve him all my days.“ He died with the consumption & whilst he wasted away retained his reason & appeared to give brighter & brighter evidence that his treasure was laid up in heaven. He manifested a strong desire for the salvation of his brethren & kindred according to t[he] flesh, & told them that he wanted to have them feel as he did. To the Missionary he says “I love Jesus Christ & feel ready & willing to die that I may go & be with my 69 Friend & Savior.” At times he had expressed to me a strong desire to get an education & preach t[he] gospel, but God had otherwise determined, & without doubt he is now serving his divine Lord & Master in a higher & more glorious manner than he could had he been permitted to attain t[he] object wh[ich] seemed to lay near his heart.

There has been a number of cases of discipline & suspension for a while from the church but none of excommunication; and the ch[urch] now consists of sixty two members in regular standing with t[he] exception of some individuals who are under discipline; and in addition to t[he] nineteen wh[o] have been admitted to t[he] ch[urch] I have baptised eleven children.

At times I see very convincing proof that God is carrying on the work of sanctification in the hearts of many of my ch[urch] by the deep heart searching wh[ich] t[he] truth occasions, & the godly jealousy which is maintained over their hearts lest they should be deceived. Early one morning Bartholomew Calvin (whose name I have before mentioned) called upon me and I inquired of him how he did, “Well” he replied “in body but not in mind. Yesterday I was reading that chap. in the Memoirs of David Brainerd¹ where he speaks of his supposed good frame &c. before it pleased God to show him his situation & exposedness to the wrath to come; and I thought it very possible that I might be in the same situation. The preaching of David B. was the means of awakening & converting my poor mother & now I thought he was speaking to me.” I inquired of him how long he had been in this darkness of mind & he said ever since the communion wh[ich] was a few

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weeks previous. "I am afraid," says he, that I partook of the memorials of the Saviors dying love unworthily because it seems to me so great & solemn a thing to come to the table of the Lord." After removing some difficulties in

1 *An abridgment of Mr. David Brainerd's Journal among the Indians. Or, the rise and progress of a remarkable work of grace among a number of the Indians in the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania* (London and Edinburgh, 1748).— Ed.

70 his mind respecting 1 Cor. 11:29. I inquired of him if he had any doubts respecting Christs willingness to save &c. "No" says he I cannot doubt that but it is the hidden evils of my heart that troubles me & because I have so much indwelling sin," To the inquiry whether he had not at times some previous views of Christ? "O yes," says he, "but not so much as I could wish." Whilst I assured him that no strange thing has happened to him &c he listened with a child-like simplicity to every word, & at the close of the interview I prayed with him, & when he left, gave me his hand & says "well I am thankful that I came here this morn." It was indeed a consolation to administer relief to one bowed down as he seemed to be under a sense of his own vileness & unworthiness, and to direct him to our "merciful & faithful high Priest who was tempted in all points like as we are yet without sin."

At another time when returning from meeting I overtook a member of the ch[urch] * * * who had been a notorious drunkard, but now I trust has been washed & sanctified, and asked her how she felt with regard to the truth wh[ich] she has heard whether she believed it &c. "I think it just so now, says she, but once I did not. Sometimes when you preach so hard (close) I all naked, I nothing to cover me, but then I get hope, I think how Christ has died, and I mean to try as long as I live to serve him."

The school & S[unday] school have been kept in operation & the number has been about the same as when I wrote before, and the children appear to be making some progress in knowledge, altho' the present unsettled state of the tr[ibe] prevents its flourishing as it otherwise might. During two summers past it has been taught by natives, and by the Teacher Mr. Stevens in the winter.

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Our labors were very much interrupted for a number of weeks during the forepart of summer in consequence of our fear of an attack by a band of hostile Sacs, which had crossed the Mississippi & committed depredations upon the white settlements wherever they came in contact with them, & murdered the inhabitants. For a considerable time their 71 place of rendezvous was about three days march distant, but small bands were constantly going out to plunder &c. The Teacher with his family removed to Green Bay in order to take refuge in the Fort in case of an attack. During this time I remained alone with only an Indian boy at my station.

They were at peace with the Stockbridge tribe, but their object was to destroy white people & the Menominies with whom they were at war, and many of them resided in the vicinity of Green Bay. After I lay down upon my pillow with the impression upon my mind, that it was possible before the morn[ing] light I might be aroused by the war whoop, & rise to seek safety by flight or else fall into their barbarous hands a prey; such feelings were indescribably painful: but then I sought support & relief & trust that I found it in his precious promise who said "Lo I am with you always even to the end of the world." And the Lord remembered us in great mercy & blessed be his holy name forever, for the enemy were not permitted to come against us or even "shoot an arrow here."

Since then those Sacs have been mostly slain by the Am[erican] force & other friendly Indians.

It is now quite probable that the Stockbridge Indians will remove in the course of two years to a place about 15 miles distant¹ on the E. side of Winnebago Lake (a small L[ake] in t[he] Fox river about 40 miles from its mouth). An arrangement has been made betwixt them & the U.S. in wh[ich] they together with two other tribes are to receive 3 Townships of land on that side of the Lake, and pay for all their improvements on their present location. As this arrangement is connected with another in wh[ich] a reservation is to be set off on the W. side of Fox r[iver] for other N.Y. Tribes, and has not as yet been assented to by the Menominies it is possible they will refuse consent. Provided they should accede to

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the proposed arrangement betwixt the U.S. & the N. Y. Indians, then the Township will be confirmed to the Stockbridges & other tribes by an

1 The present village of Stockbridge, Calumet County.— Ed.

72 act of the Senate and Pres. of the U.S. I have lately explored this tract of land and find the soil of a quality far superior to their present location, generally well watered with excellent streams of pure water, & some of them large enough for mills, well timbered and suited to purposes of agriculture. In addition to this they will be farther removed from the means of intoxication. I have little doubt but the removal will eventually improve their condition altho for a few years they will have to struggle hard to get along.

* * * * *

(Altho) much has been done to civilise the natives & many doubtless have already been savingly benefited, still when the whole number is taken in the account who are perishing for lack of vision, very little indeed comparatively is doing. The light already lit up is only as a taper in the midst of gross darkness. A vast proportion of the Indians in this N. W. Territory up the sources of the Mississippi & West of it have never heard of the name of Jesus; and with regard to most of them they are not only pagans but their downward course is greatly accelerated in consequence of mingling with fur-traders and others engaged in the traffic of ardent spirits. They are rapidly disappearing like the dew of the morning before the scorching sun. Their drunken frolics & feasts exhibit scenes both disgusting & shocking to the feelings. In the month of June I visited a band of Ojibbeways on the river St. Clair at the outlet of Lake Huron. There had been a general feast & as usual closed with a drunken frolic. Whilst conversing with one not quite as much intoxicated as the rest, a young woman came up & spoke to her husband in such a manner as made him angry, he immediately stripped up his sleeves, knocked her down, stamped upon her and caught the first thing which came to hand which was a large piece of peeled bark, dried in the sun and struck her with it with both hands. By this time I had succeeded in getting the Indians to interfere & he fought them like a tiger, but they

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succeeded in securing her from his barbarous hands, otherwise ⁷³ he would doubtless have put an end to her life. Murder is not unfrequent in these revelries.

The pagan female enjoys none of those privileges and immunities which females enjoy in christian lands; and instead of having honor shown her “as unto the weaker vessel” and treated as the tender & affectionate wife, she is considered & treated rather as the servant or slave of an arbitrary husband, & must perform all of the drudgery whilst he hunts or sits in the wigwam. Being from childhood accustomed to this mode of treatment they suppose it must be so and stupidly submit without murmuring. But all of the wretchedness & hardship which they endure in this world would not be worthy of being mentioned, if when released from this state of bondage by death they were prepared for heaven. But this is not the case, for as they approach the shades of death they draw near in all of their sins, and total strangers to that only name by which any can be saved; and the joys and hopes which comfort & support the christian in this solemn hour reach them not. Hearing one time that a war-chief was dangerously ill I went to see him, and asked him where he expected his soul would go after death, & the amount of his reply was “I dont know.”

When the christian parent is called to part with his beloved offspring he commend its departing spirit to that Savior who died for sinners, but I have known the pagan mother kindle a fire at its grave and watch it a long time when it was cold, and when asked the reason why said that it was to keep it warm on its way to the West where they imagine the souls of the departed go; or else commend its departing spirit to the guardean care of a favorite dog. An Ojibbeway family on the Mississippi as a missionary who was an eye-witness informed me, lost a child & at its burial (as they suppose the soul does not leave the body until after this takes place) took a favorite dog, performed over it some senseless ceremony, addressed it very earnestly and then killed it. Being asked why they did it, answered “That it might take care of the child ⁷⁴ on its way to the West.” How invaluable to such parents would be a saving knowledge of that gospel which brings life & immortality

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to light, so that in the arms of faith they might commend in the hour of death, the spirits of their children to that Savior who says "Suffer little children to come unto me." &c.

Says a Mr. Oakes an intelligent Indian Trader, "The account which the Apostle gave of the heathen in his day is applicable to the uncivilised Indians of the present day, and I have learnt this from personal observation." Not unfrequently aged and infirm parents are left by their children to perish on some desolate Island. "I was crossing," says a Mr. Ashmun (another Indian Trader) Leach Lake (a large Lake situated N. W. of L. Superior) in the month of Dec. upon the ice, having a white man & Indian for a guide. It was exceeding cold and I had to make every exertion to keep from freezing; about noon I arrived at an Island in the middle of the Lake and built up a fire & was obliged to remain some time on account of the cold. I had been travelling a number of days & my provisions were entirely exhausted, but shook out a few crumbs from our sacks and ate them which was all we could get to eat & determined if possible to reach a house that night on the opposite side of the Lake about 15 miles distant. Just as I was leaving the Island my attention was attracted by a hacking, & looking thro' the bushes saw an old blind man upon his knees at work with a hatchet almost worn up to the eye; he would strike a few strokes & then stop & feel; in this way he had succeeded during the day in felling a very small tree & cutting off one stick & had commenced upon the second. I approached & spoke to him; he immediately drops his hatchet, raises both hands and exclaims "O che-moke-a-mon, che-moke-a-mon" (the word for an American) who *has come* to give us life a little longer? Do go into my lodge & see my poor, old woman for she is almost dead." "I went in" says he, "& saw lying upon the ground an old, blind woman also. Near her was a little handful of coals and a pile of acorn-shells wh[ich] she would take up one by one and put on the coals to prevent them from being entirely extinguished. They begged for something to eat but "I told them that I had nothing wh[ich] they could eat. I ascertained that they were the parents of a thousand powerful band of Indians; and that their children left them in the fall with a little wood & a few nuts, but they had eaten them all up & were in a state of starvation, After furnishing them with some wood I left them and with very great difficulty succeeded

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in reaching the house at a late hour in the night & for three days it was impossible to return on account of the storm & cold & when I did, found that poor, old, blind couple dead and lying side by side."

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for Prop. Chris. Knowledge. From May 2d 1831 to Aug. 1st 1832."

FIRST SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1833.

To the Secretary of the Scotland Society for Propogating Christian Knowledge .

Dear Sir —since I wrote you in Aug. the affairs of this Mission have gone on without interruption. During this time there has been no general attention to religion, altho' (from time to time) some have been awakened, & for a time seemed to have considerable conviction, still I do not know that any have indulged hopes of a saving change. Meetings both on the Sab. & week days have been well attended; & sometimes there has been a deep solemnity upon the minds of the congregation, still these flattering appearances have been rather like the early cloud & morning dew, tho' all have not lost their convictions.

The state of feeling in the church has been very harmonious; but our faith & patience are greatly tried from time to time by the irregularities of some of the members. There has been four cases of discipline, tho' none of excommunication. Children in understanding as well as in 76 knowledge, & surrounded by strong temptations, alas! many of them are too easily led astray.

The day and S[unday] School have gone on as usual with but little variation in respect to numbers. It has been more sickly than usual during the winter past, and since Oct. there have been seven deaths, all of them children, however, excepting one young man.

Here I will insert some extracts from my journal from time to time in order that I may give a more correct representation of the situation of this church and people.

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Sept. 2d. Sab. preached from Zach. 9:12. The audience very solemn, many listened with deep interest, & t[he] word appeared to take effect. But, alas! they hear but do not lay it to heart, nor will they "turn to the strong holds." Baptised a family consisting of five interesting children. The father formerly unsteady & intemperate, but now I hope a new creature in Christ Jesus. He is the leader in singing & for two or three winters past has taught a singing school amongst his people. These are always interesting seasons as it affords me an opportunity to explain & enforce the obligations of parents towards their children after giving them up in the solemn ordinance of baptism, to train them up for God. Since then I have baptised 12 children including an interesting family of six. At the eve. meeting Dea[con] Chicks prayed in english (which is not usual for the members of the church.) It was Daniels prayer, contained in his ninth chap. and such was his humble manner & feeling too, that it produced a striking effect upon the audience, & some were affected to tears. It seemed rather the language of a penitent jew confessing his sins & the sins of his people, & pouring out his soul in fervent supplications for his city & people, than of a christian Indian using his words centuries afterwards.

27th. The day of the stated church meeting. Brought forward a resolution in which the members agree before taking any considerable journey to ask counsel of the church. And if they think the reasons insufficient to abandon it, but if it is approved a letter of recommendation is 77 to be given. After reading & fully explaining the object, it met with a cordial reception. A disposition to journey, I have ever found a great evil, for they do not only spend their time & money to little purpose, but generally fall into temptation. If this resolution is followed up it will undoubtedly greatly promote steadiness in their habits, and check that roving disposition which is characteristic of the wild Indians, & takes a great while to break up after they become in a measure civilised.

Oct. 5th. At the church meeting questioned the members respecting the subject of my discourse the preceding Sab. which was the nature of the christian hope, distinguishing it from such as are false & delusive, and inquired also what was the object of their faith. The

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answers were generally very satisfactory, which showed that they had not been inattentive hearers of the word. I inquired of Sally A. who appears to be a growing christian & adorns her profession, what would satisfy her, "To be with Christ," says she, "to see him & to be like him," in a manner & with a tone of voice which seemed to show that it came from a heart deeply imbued with the love of God.

7th. Sab. Meeting in the eve. at Bartholomew Calvins; he having been for sometime sick & low and not expecting to recover. After I had made some remarks respecting the conversion of a sinner an hundred years old, from the recollection of a sermon which he had heard the Rev. R. Baxter preach 85 years before. "O what love," says he, "that could pardon such an old sinner? And O! What encouragement to the chief of sinners, when I who had lived all my days in sin, & was just ripe for ruin should be plucked as a brand from the burning, & made a vessel of mercy." "I ask an interest in all your prayers that I may be supported & have the light of the Savior's countenance when called to pass the Jordan of death. Please to sing the 51st Ps[alm] 1st p[ar]t. Show pity Lord, O Lord forgive." This is a favorite Ps. with him and one to which he often refers in conversation.

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12th Attended the funeral of two children. One thirteen years of age & a S[unday] S[chool] scholar. His father is a leading man in the tribe and a member of the church. The religious instruction which he had received at home and at school also had deeply impressed his mind with the importance of religion. I visited him frequently during the latter part of his sickness, & found him ready to converse. He did not expect to recover & once of his own accord requested prayers on the Sab. He appeared to manifest sorrow for his sins & said that he hoped the Savior had forgiven them, & that now he loved him. A few days before his death he said to his father, "at first I felt unwilling to die, but now I do not for I want to go & be with the Savior."

Nov. 4th. Sacrament day, preached from s. John 3:1. The church listened with fixed attention. May the love of God be shed abroad more & more in the hearts of his children

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here and they live more as becometh sons of God." In the afternoon administered the Lord's Supper; the season was solemn and interesting and refreshing to our spirits. Two were added to the church who had formerly been members in the state of N.Y. Baptised three children.

13th. Quarterly meeting of the Temp[erance] Soc[iety]. An address was delivered by Timothy J[ourdan], one of their own number. Meeting well attended and considerable interest was manifested in the subject. But from the report it appeared that little progress had been made during the last quarter. Some had violated their promise & among the rest a member of the church, * * * of whom we had cherished high hopes for nearly two years.

Often I have painful evidence of the fickleness and instability of those whose minds in early life were not fortified by moral & religious principles & who have for years given the reins to the basest of passions. Altho' by some alarming providence, or by religious instruction this vicious propensity may appear to be overcome, still at time, it rouses its expiring energies, when it would seem that 79 victory was well nigh complete and very frequently compels its deluded votary to say "when shall I awake? I will seek it yet again.

14th Attended the funeral of a young man, Joshua Aaron, & a member of the church. Preached from Rev. 14:13. The audience listened with deep solemnity whilst I pointed out what those labors are from which the pious dead rest, & the kind of works which follow them. Joshua died of a consumption. I visited him frequently during his sickness & found him ever ready & willing to converse so long as he could. He felt conscious of his approaching end & endeavored to prepare himself for it. The first time I visited him after he was taken sick, so great appeared to be his sense of his own sinfulness that he did not dare to call himself a christian, "for," says he, "I am a great sinner, still I love the Lord Jesus Christ & delight in his worship & service."

He looked upon death with composure & appeared ready & willing to depart. Of this he often spoke to his brother, who is also a member of the church and said that he wanted

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to go & be with Christ which was far better. As he drew near the close of life he could converse but little, yet when I spoke to him of the love of the Sav. in dying for sinners he would weep when so low as to be unable to speak. His mother died in the triumphs of faith as I trust between two & three years since, thus we hope that both mother & son are now gathered to that rest which remains for the people of God.

16th. Commenced a course of weekly lectures to parents upon family government & instruction. This is greatly neglected & is a sore evil. Some however feel more deeply the importance of training up their children in the way in which they should go but are deficient in knowledge; whilst others follow too much the pagan mode which is to let their children do as they please with but little restraint. The consequence is what might be expected such children take the course in which a depraved heart leads—are unsteady & vicious and their example is alike detrimental to the interests of society & religion. The meeting was well attended, all appeared to be pleased & I am sanguine in the hope, that thro' the blessing of God great good will result.

Dec. 3d. Monthly Concert. The meeting generally well attended. Read the account of the revival at the Cherokee Camp-meeting held last Aug. which greatly rejoiced our hearts, and we immediately lifted up our voices in thanksgiving and praise to God for his goodness & mercy to the poor Cherokees. Accounts of this kind excite the liveliest interest in the minds of this people, for they not only have a tender sympathy for them in common with all other christians, but such as kindred have for each other. Many of our little praying-circle have learnt by experience to prize these seasons, & give proof of it by being uniformly present, & by the fervent prayers which they offer up. Some are often so much affected at these seasons that their feelings become too big for utterance. May the Lord greatly increase the numbers of such amongst this people as love to pray for the prosperity of Zion.

Dec. 24th. *Narrow escape from fire .*

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Between three & four o'clock this morning was awakened by the smell of a little smoke in my room, still it did not alarm me because the chimney being badly constructed we are much annoyed with it. Immediately arose in order to find from whence it proceeded, and was induced to keep on from door to door until I opened the one into the sitting-room, (which was in another part of the house from which I slept,) and saw the floor two thirds of the way across on fire, tho' somewhat stifled owing to the tightness of the room. It had already communicated with a closet in one side of the room filled with clothing. Momentarily I roused the family from their perilous condition, for in a few minutes the flames would have been bursting into the room where a part of it slept, and with our utmost efforts together with the assistance of a new neighbor the fire was extinguished, which in a very few minutes more would have laid our dwelling in ashes as little could have been saved provided all had escaped with their lives. The fire originated from a defect in the construction of the hearth. The loss of property is perhaps not more than 60 or 70 dollars.

In no event of my life, have I ever seen more manifestly the hand of God, & none scarcely in which it deserves more devoutly to be acknowledged. It was his watchful providence, who never slumbereth nor sleepeth, which awaked me, for I retired Sab. eve. unusually fatigued with the labors of the day & had rested quietly until that time beyond which all human efforts to have saved our dwelling would have been wholly abortive. Blessed be God, for altho' he has chastened us still he has remembered mercy and spared our dwelling &c. in this inclement season of the year. May we be more entirely devoted to him in future.

25th. Christmas. At a Council previously called the nation of their own accord resolved to spend the day in a religious manner. It has usually been a day of mirth & festivity amongst the young people. We met at the usual hour of meeting on the Sab. and had religious exercises and devoted the afternoon to the cause of temperance. There was a general attendance at meeting all day, and I returned home rejoicing that God had put it into their

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hearts to spend the day so differently and profitably too from what it had been spent in years previous.

28th. Spent a part of the day in visiting. Passed some Menominie wigwams, and hearing the sound of a native drum, concluded that they were performing some religious rite and I stopped to witness it. As I approached I heard a number of men singing a native tune which was responded to by the women emitting the sound thro the nose, so that at a distance it sounded like persons in distress. When I came up I inquired what was going on within? "Mani-to-kan-so" (Grand-Medicine-dance) one replied very seriously, and went on to tell me that a child was sick & expected to 7 82 die. (it died soon afterwards). I looked into the wigwam & saw the women dancing around the fire in the middle, holding by the arms a pale, emaciated child too sick & weak to stand up itself & perform the senseless ceremony in order to be cured. In the meantime one man beat upon the drum & another shook a gourde-shell in order to keep time. After dancing a few minutes all seated themselves around the fire in silence, & the leader made a short speech, which was responded to by a loud grunt. They vainly imagine that these unmeaning ceremonies have a mysterious efficiency in healing the sick altho' nothing can be more inappropriate or less calculated to do them good. They resort to this dance, or rather season of revelry on other important occasions, as for example when going out to hunt that they may find a plenty of game, or when they have hunted a long time & taken nothing, that the Great Spirit may tell them where to find it. But their songs & speeches are mere repetition of words without meaning which forcibly reminded me of the Saviors injunction "use not vain repetitions as the heathen do." What added to the sorrow and disgust which I felt was, that these ceremonies were performed with whiskey, which is considered indispensable, and when the wretched, squalid mother arose the second time to dance she was too drunk to move, & could only stand & make the child perform the motion whilst the rest went around. From this scene of superstition, degradation and drunkenness, I turned and inquired how long shall more than Egyptian darkness brood over these immortal minds! And how long shall men influenced wholly by the basest selfishness be permitted to pour out such a

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flood of desolation, as they do now upon these frontiers! And when shall the light of the gospel shine upon this fast degenerating tribe!

Jan. 2d 1833. Julia, a little girl about four years of age, a daughter of Mr. S[tevens] the Teacher, expired. She had a presentiment from the time she was first taken, that she should not recover; was often heard engaged in prayer, & frequently asked her mother also to pray for her. Altho' 83 she appeared sensible that she was drawing near to death still it was not terrible to her, but said to her mother that she was not afraid to die "For she should go & be with the Savior." For a number of weeks before her death when in health, she had been unusually interested in the story of the Savior which her parents often related to her, and could not be satisfied then, but would plead to have it repeated again & again without ever manifesting the least appearance of weariness or impatience. Whilst her parents deeply feel their loss, they do not mourn as those who have no hope.

I would conclude this by earnestly commending this Mission to the prayers of your venerable Society. Amidst many discouragements we feel that we do not labor altogether in vain. But from time to time we are permitted to see some precious fruit of our labors, for God grants us some refreshings from his presence; and while we are thankful for any mercy drops, we venture to look up and humbly ask for more; hoping that ere long God will pour out his Holy Spirit and that great numbers may be gathered into the fold of Christ.

I feel an increasing anxiety in behalf of the Indians belonging to other tribes in this region. No one in whom any measure of the Spirit of Christ dwells can look over this region without feeling in some degree as Paul did whilst waiting at Athens. Life, which to all is uncertain, is still more so [to] them, for they are slaves to those vices which cut it short, and which, while it lasts renders it hardly deserving of the name, for they half extinguish the vital flame, and it seems rather like the flickering of a candle in the socket. Still the gospel can enlighten, it can elevate, it can save them. How then should the christian inquire in respect to this glorious cause Lord what will thou have me to do? Let him not grow weary in well doing, remembering that the Saviors words are indeed true in respect

to all "He that believeth & is baptised shall be saved but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Board Feb. 1st. 1833. Sep. 2—Jan. 2, 1833."

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THE SOCIETY'S REPLY.

Edinburgh Society Hall 18 June 1833.

Dear Sir—I have received both of your Journals which I had much pleasure in laying before the Directors of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The Directors are exceedingly gratified, not merely with the interesting information which your Journals contain but with the Spirit which they breathe. They rejoice that in the midst of so much danger from the neighbourhood of hostile tribes, you have in mercy been saved, and they hope you will be long preserved to be useful to the people among whom you are placed, and that you may have the rich reward of seeing the pleasure of the Lord prospering in your hands. Highly honourable indeed is the work in which you are engaged. What a rich prize would it be if even only one soul of these poor, benighted, and ignorant natives should be saved—how much more so, if you should be the honoured instrument in the hands of God, of turning many from sin to righteousness—of removing the darkness of their heathen superstition and idolatry—of bringing them into the marvellous light of the Gospel—of leading them to the cross, and to the peace speaking blood of the lamb, where alone they can have their sins washed away. The Spirit of the Lord can alone accomplish this great work, but we are desirous to use the means, and I trust you will have many souls given you as the success of your labours.

The Directors of the Society have ordered extracts from your Journals to be published in the appendix to their anniversary sermon, and they hope you will continue as frequently as you can, to transmit your journals containing not merely the progress of the great work in which you are at present engaged, but such particulars regarding the habits, peculiarities

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and manners of these native tribes, which may shew the dark and ignorant state in which they are at present, and the removal of which should be the anxious wish and earnest prayer of every christian.

The Directors pray that you may be strong in the Lord—That through your means many be added to the church of 85 Christ and that in your own person, and in your flock, you may have the blessing from on High, strengthening you in your labours and uniting you more and more in those bands of christian love which the world cannot break asunder I remain with every christian feeling

My Dear Sir Yours very faithfully Jno. Tawse Sec. Socy P. C. K.

The Rev d Cutting Marsh, P. M. Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians P.O. Grand Cakalin Michigan Territory .

Indorsed: "Jno. Tawse Secretary of the Scotland Soc. Recd. Oct. 1833"

SECOND SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1833

Statesburg near Green Bay M. T. Aug. 1st, 1833

To the Sec. of the Scot, Soc. For Prop. Chris. Knowledge .

Dear Sir —My last communication brought the history of this Mission down as far as Feb. 1st. Since then no great changes have taken place: altho' industry and the cause of temperance are evidently making progress. The state of feeling in the church has been very harmonious and two individuals have indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life. The four individuals whom I then mentioned as being under censure have been restored and their walk since that time has been circumspect. But we have been under the necessity of suspending three others on account of intemperance. One of them, a young

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man with a wife who is also a member, have since left the Settlement in a clandestine manner, and gone to Canada five or six hundred miles distant.

Two were examined & propounded for admission into the ch[urch] last Spring, but their walk during the time they were on trial (which was three months) not being satisfactory, they were put upon further trial. Two members have died in the triumphs of faith. I have baptised four children. Religious meetings both on the Sab. & week days have been well attended and at times great solemnity has been manifested upon the minds of the congregation. 86 An increasing interest is felt in S[unday] S[chool] instruction; the children the Spring & Summer past have been far more punctual than formerly. Between forty and fifty children belong to the S.S. besides a class of young and old people together who are taught at the same time in a bible class by the school Teacher.

Perhaps it will be interesting to your Soc. to have a brief history of this church given from the time of its formation to the present, together with a catalogue of all the names who have united with it.

This church was organised in New Stockbridge N. Y. July 24th 1818, and then consisted of eleven members, four males and seven females.

A small colony consisting of about 40 persons, was sent out to take possession of some lands which the tr[ibe] owned in common with the Delawares on White River in the state of Indiana. A few of this band were professors of religion and it was thought desirable by their Missionary the Rev. Mr [John] Sergeant, that they should be formed into a church; and accordingly were receiving the same articles of faith & covenant as the parent church had.

Thus organised and receiving instructions from and the blessing and prayers of their Revd Missionary and christian friends, they set out to go into the wilderness, a little feeble band having no one to go before and guide and instruct them.

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On the way they were favored with two opportunities whilst passing thro Ohio of communing with other churches. But the sacrament was never administered to them, nor they did they have any preaching whilst they remained there which was a period of three or four years: still they met regularly on the Sab. & held public worship amongst themselves, and besides other appropriate exercises read the bible with Dr. Scotts Commentary. Whilst there three members of the church died. In 1822 they removed to Green Bay with the rest of the remaining Colony, but had no congregational or pres[byterian] preaching until 1827 when the Rev. Mr. [Jesse] Miner being sent out by the Am. Board on an exploring tour spent a few weeks with them. He collected the church together, inquired 87 into their standing &c. received a number into it and administered the Lord's Supper a privilege which they had not enjoyed before for 8 or 9 years. Mr. M's. visit was productive of great good & prepared the way for the establishment of the Mission the next year 1828.

Names, time when received and present standing &c.

July 24th 1818.

62 John Metoxen. Deacon.

56 Robert Konkapot.

*

* Dead.

Joseph Quinney.

59†

† Absent and standing not good.

John Bennet.

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79 Esther Thowhusquh.

* Margaret Quinney.

64 Elisabeth Bennet

52 Hannah Konkapot.

50 Catherine Metoxen.

46 Dolly Now-ottokhunwoh

* Mary Konkapot.

Sept. 2 d 1827

64 Catherine Littleman by letter

* Betty Pye by letter

* Betty Pontkoohquh

83 Anna Aukauweem

* Christeen Auseetaunwuh

65 Betsey Sauquaumeen.

* Catherine Turkey

48 Hannah Chicks

57 Betsey Miller

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39 Betsey Palmer

39 Jerushee Davids

Sally Hunt

July 20th 1828

73 in Feb.

72 & Bartholomew S. Calvin

49 Jacob Chicks. Deacon.

41 Austin E. Quinney

*65 Catharine Poponanmuh

29 Sally Anthony

33 Rebecca Moses.

Oct. 5th 1828.

39 Timothy Jourdan

41 Jacob Davids

36 John W. Quinney

33 Cynthia Quinney

29 Betsey Toweey

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26 Electa W. Adams

23 Hannah Chavees

61 Eunice Jourdain. Suspended

Jan. 1st. 1829.

47 Cornelius Doxtator

37 Joseph M. Quinney

28 John P. Quinney

* Tracy Joshua

22 Samuel Miller

* Joshua Aaron

26 Esther Joshua

* Thomas Simons

May 27th 1830

53 Eunice Quinney

60 Nancy Hunt

57 Josiah Miller

* George Simons

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Nov. 7th 1830

26 Catherine Quinney

61 James Hunt

Aug. 14th 1831

Houyost Smith. Dismissed

27 John N. Chicks

* Jacob Aaron

‡

‡ Suspended and absent.

33 Simon S. Metoxen. Suspended and absent

†47 Mary Quinney

†21 Elisabeth Metoxen

24 Betsey Aaron

27 Phebe Quinney

†30 Susan Seth

Oct. 9th 1831

38 Andrew Miller

33 John Moses. Suspended

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July 29th 1832.

49 Thomas Hendrick

49 Benjamin Pasmer

34 Timothy Poweey

40 John Hunt

34 Isaac Littleman

38 Susannah Hendrick

35 Pualla Jourdan

50 Anna Turkey

54 Philena Pye

Nov. 4th 1832

73 Lydia Hendrick by letter

75 Eve Liberty Do

88

Twelve are over 20, 15 over 30, 10 over 40, 10 over 50, 8 over 60, 3 over 70 and 2 over 80 years of age.

In twenty four of these families there are family prayers morning and evening. And 43 can read intelligibly in the english language.

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This catalogue embraces Indians only and no white persons, as there are some belonging to the church.

Of the surviving members forty five are married or are heads of families and have had seventy one children baptised since Mr. M's visit in 1827. Twenty four are males and thirty five females, whole number fifty nine. Twelve have died in the faith, besides six others who have died giving evidence of having experienced a change of heart, but had not an opportunity of uniting with the church.

Two are upwards of 80

And all get a livelihood by agriculture, tho some of the men are skilled in the mechanic arts. The women all understand sewing and some of them knitting, spinning, weaving &c. Three have taught school and one female¹ has been engaged for some years in teaching and a few weeks ago was married to a Mohawk Indian from Canada whom the Methodist Ep. Soc. sent out last year as a speaker Missionary to the Oneidas in this region.²

1 Electa Quinney.— Ed.

2 Daniel Adams.— Ed.

Here I will insert some extracts from my journal which will show more particularly the state of the church & people for six months past.

Feb. 1st. Attended the ch[urch] meeting previous to the administration of the Lords' Supper. This meeting I intend always to occupy in inquiring of the members individually respecting their state of feeling and views of the ordinance. Some of the ch[urch] were much affected and with great difficulty expressed their feelings; one woman Sally H. was so much so that she was unable to say a word. The next day she called upon me and in broken english says "I want to have a little speak with you. Last night I feel so I could say nothing. When I look back upon my life & then into 89 my heart it look very bad, &

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I feel very poor and weak, but when I think of Christ I rejoice all the time. Then I want to come & see you for I want to know more, but I sorry I do not understand. Sometimes when you talk I dont understand, but when you speak about Christ and heaven (pointing upwards) then I understand, then my heart glad." She spoke of her two little children which are the only members of the family who do not belong to the church and expressed a strong confidence, that they would become christians. One of them has been awakened & manifested much interest in the subject of religion.

4th. Called upon John H. a brother of Sally in order to baptise a child which was very sick. Whilst instructing the family more fully in respect to the nature of the ordinance Big-Wave, formerly head chief of the Menominie tribe of Indians, an aged, venerable looking man, came in. He looked on very attentively but said nothing. At the close I inquired by an interpreter what he thought was the meaning of that service? "I suppose," says he "that the child is bewitched and that you did that (baptised it) in order to cure it."

I then explained to him the meaning of it, and went on to preach unto him the necessity of being born again in order to see the kingdom of God. He replied that they had received different commends (instructions) from their fathers and they must follow them— That the Great Spirit had made them different from, the white men, and that they (their fathers) had told them that the white men came from the East and would go back there when they died; but the red men came from the West and would return thither after death. This impression prevails generally amongst uncivilised Indians. They believe that the good i. e. the good warrior & hunter will go to a land abounding in every kind of game & the rivers with abundance of fish, all of which will be easily taken; but the bad i.e. the coward and poor hunter will go to a place of endless punishment.

They ascribe sickness and disease more or less to the influence of evil spirits and witch-craft, and apply such remedies as they suppose will drive them away. Altho Big-W. was once head chief & a principal counsellor still he appeared entirely ignorant of the spiritual malady with which the soul is diseased or that it needs any moral purification.

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25th. Went in company with some of the head-men to visit the Oneidas at Duck Creek about 20 miles distant.

26th. The day appointed by the Am[erican] Tem]perance] Soc[iety] for holding meetings generally. Visited the families during the day and in the eve. held a meeting and addressed the people on the subject of tem. But being much divided amongst themselves and national difficulties so much occupied their minds, that they could not be prevailed upon to form a soc. Intemperance is making fearful progress in this settlement, and its dreadful effects are abundantly manifest in their poverty, indolence and the exceeding low state of religion which prevails.

April 6th. Death of a member of the church.

Died of the consumption Jacob Aaron aged 24 years. In the winter of 1831 the death of a sister in law was the means of awakening him. Previously he had lived an irregular life, being addicted to intemperance & other vices. His convictions were deep & pungent, and he appeared to have a very vivid sense of the enmity of the carnal mind against God and of the total depravity of his heart. This made him deeply sensible of his lost condition by nature and of his perishing need of an interest in Jesus Christ. He was often seen weeping, & when asked what was the matter would reply, "Because I am a miserable sinner." It was in this state of mind that he attended a meeting of inquiry, at the close of which I urged upon him the importance of immediate submission to Jesus Christ. Soon after this I found him rejoicing in hope. From that time to his death his course was not only onward in the christian life but rapid. In Aug. following he united with the church. He understood the english language pretty well, and could read intelligibly in the bible which he made his constant study. 91 I have met him at eve. returning from a days labor with his Test. in his pocket and he would stop to inquire about some passage which he did not understand. I scarcely met with him without his making some such inquiry.

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April 18th. Solemnised two marriages. At the last was invited to partake of the wedding supper which was served up in excellent style. The furniture of the table, and manner of cooking were all according to the custom of white people. No strong drink or cordials of any kind were used on the occasion and good order and decorum prevailed amongst all present as there was a large collection; after supper all went home in quietness and peace. But a few years ago and it would have been impossible to have gone thro' with such a transaction without a drunken frolic at the close.

25th Annual Fast.

Preached from Prov. 14:34. The day was generally observed by the tr[ibe] and the audience as large as on the Sab. and as attentive. Afterwards had a prayer-meeting which was solemn and interesting, some of the church appeared to be deeply affected. Closed the day feeling that it had been truly profitable both to myself and people.

May 14th. Annual meeting of the Tem. Soc.

Previously I invited all of the S[unday] S[chool] children to attend and most of their parents came with them. The meeting very interesting and gave an impulse to the cause which will long be felt. I addressed the children particularly, and was followed by remarks from some of the parents and head-men who spoke with much animation.

After fully explaining the subject to the children 27 immediately came forward and with smiling countenances requested that their names might be put down with their parents upon the constitution. One little girl came up of her own accord and says "Will you put down my name for I wish to join and I cannot do it myself." Connecting 92 the subject of temperance with Sab. Schools amongst the Indians appears to me highly important and the most effectual way of promoting the cause amongst them. For the instruction will be more likely to do good and be remembered and the children will become little preachers of temperance perhaps to drunken parents. Upwards of one hundred & fifty of different ages

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have united with the Soc. since its formation; but our patience has often been tried by the members transgressing its rules, still a large majority have kept their promise sacredly.

The reasoning of a church member in order to ascertain whether he was a christian.

19th. Sab. eve. One man Timothy J. arose in the meeting and in view of what he had been hearing of the strait gate and narrow way says, "Sometimes I think I am not a christian, because I am guilty of so many sins. But then I do have a love for the children of God, which I do not have for any body else; and when I hear of their falling away I am very sorry. But when I hear of others who are not christians committing the same sins I do not feel so. I think that is their nature, still I have a concern for them. Now I think that if I was not a christian why did I not have these feelings before? I know that I never felt so before, and it does appear to me if I did not love our Lord Jesus Christ I should not feel as I do."

June 3d. Attended the annual meeting of the foreign Missn. Assn. It was addressed by the school Teacher Mr. Stevens. This Soc. was formed two years ago, and last year upwards of twenty dollars were raised in aid of the funds of the A[merican] B[oard]. Probably more will be realised this year as there appears to be an increasing spirit of benevolence amongst them. A few days afterwards at the close of a meeting Sally H. came to me and with tears says I want to join the benevolent Soc. (meaning the Miss. Soc.) I was sorry I did not understand when it was going to meet. Last year I gave six dollars but this year I want to give twelve, because I want to have the gospel sent to the Indians who are destitute of it."

93

July 28th Sab.

After the public exercises called to see Christeen a member of the church, who was very sick. She had been attacked the night before with the cholera morbus. She was tossed with pain and passed recovery, yet in view of her approaching dissolution she had no feelings of dread. I inquired of her if she felt willing to die and she immediately replied that

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she did and was constantly preparing her mind for it—That the Sav. appeared near and precious to her and that she was willing that he should do with her as seemed good in his sight.

At the third meeting a woman expressed her determination to seek the salvation of her soul and appeared to have considerable conviction of sin.

29th. Heard of the death of Christeen. It seemed that she had been herself anticipating it. A christian friend visited her a short time previous to her death, and was speaking about her garden and little field of corn around which she had cultivated with great industry. "Others" says she, "will gather and eat it," altho' she was then in usual health. Again mentioning about removing to their new location, "No," she replied, pointing to the burying ground "there is my grave."

She had been a member of the church almost six years, and her walk and conversation during that time evinced the sincerity of her faith. She had outlived her husband, children and grand children being upwards of 80 years of age. Her exact age was not known as she had lost it. Altho' much afflicted in her old age with rheumatism, still when able to walk she was a constant attendant at the house of God both on the Sab. and week days.

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Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Society for Aug, 1st 1833,"

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SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1834.

Statesburg Near Green Bay Mich. Ter . Feb. 1st 1834

To the Sec. of the Scotland Soc. For Prop. Chris. Knowledge .

Dear Sir —My last report brought down the history of the mission to August 1st 1833.

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I believe that I have in former communications mentioned that the Stockbridge Indians were expecting to remove from the lands they now occupy to another place 15 or 18 miles distant on the East side of Lake Winnebago a small Lake in Fox river about 40 miles from its mouth. They have made an amicable & satisfactory arrangement with the govt of the U. S. in which they agree to relinquish two Townships and pay for all of their improvements not to exceed a sum of 25 thousand dolls. Notwithstanding the terms on the part of the Indians are quite advantageous, and they receive improvements, still the effects and consequences of removal will be very disastrous, and will be felt for years, besides the operations of the mission, giving religious instruction—of the school &c are and will be very much interrupted.

Nothing hardly is more to be deprecated in a temporal point of view than the removal of a tribe of Indians, it seems almost like transplanting aged trees, which, if not destroyed by so doing, hardly ever acquire sufficient thrift to rise above it and soon show marks of a premature old age. Altho' in watching the course of events respecting the Indians and seeing the evils of removal, I am sometimes almost ready to sink down into a state of despondency still I am upheld by the gracious promises "Lo I am with you always," "And the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose."

The Stockbridge Indians are highly pleased with their new location and on many accounts it is preferable to the one they have relinquished. They are making preparations as fast as possible to remove, but a majority doubtless will not go before the winter of 1834–5 at which time 95 the mission will be removed. The mission has also been interrupted in another respect. The School Teacher with his family left last fall (1833) and his place has not as yet been filled by another which has interrupted the operations of the school and greatly increased my own labors, but the Am. Board intend to send on another so soon as one can be obtained. Altho' wintery days appear and prospects sometimes look dark and cheerless and faith seems to be put to the test still I hope that your venerable

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Society will not be disheartened nor discouraged but still pray and look for a brighter day to dawn upon the poor red-men of the forest. Many I have reason to believe from amongst this people thro' the instrumentality of Missionary labors have been savingly benefited and have entered into rest whilst others appear to be followers of them who thro' faith and patience have inherited the promises— These will be a most abundant as well as an everlasting reward for every sacrifice made and all that has been done whether on the part of Missionaries or the friends of Missions to promote such a, blessed cause as preaching the gospel amongst those who have sat in darkness and death-shade. One aged member of the church of whom I will give some account hereafter has been called as I trust to her everlasting rest leaving behind very satisfactory evidence that she was a child of God. Thus we are often admonished to do with our might what our hands find to do both towards those who have set their faces Zion-ward, as well as those who have not as yet fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them in the gospel. Many of this people appear to have a deep sense of gratitude towards their patrons for their kindness and christian benevolence manifested towards them.

Here I will insert some notices extracted from my journal.

Aug. 5th. Monthly Concert.

The meeting well attended. Considerable of time spent in prayer, interspersed with singing and exhortation. The subject of foreign Missions seems to be evidently gaining 96 ground amongst them & a deeper interest felt in behalf of those around and in the regions beyond who are still in pagan darkness. One man came forward after having paid his annual subscription & gave a half dollar saying "that he had been unfaithful but he wanted to do something."

7th Examination of the S[unday] School.

Attended the semi-annual examination of the S. S. Each weekly Lesson contained seven verses and it is expected, that all capable of committing will get one verse a day. Such

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as are not able to read are taught from a catechism prepared in manuscript. Forty six children were present, the average usual number about 30. The former were examined upon the lessons giving an account of the birth of Christ and his sufferings in the garden of Gethsemane; his crucifixion, and his coming to judge the world at the last day: The latter were examined in the Catechism. The answers were promptly given and in such a manner as evinced that they had made pleasing progress in the study of the holy Scr[ipture]s and understood what they had learnt. The exercises were interspersed with singing appropriate hymns and were listened to with deep and solemn interest on the part of the parents. At the close they evidently appeared by their remarks to be more deeply impressed with the importance and benefit of S. S. instruction. One of the head-men remarked "Our children even know more, & are able to answer questions that we could not." This ought to encourage us to feel more and encourage them more to attend the S. S.

13th Visited Elisabeth Smith an Oneida woman and found her in the last stages of the consumption. But a calm and heavenly serenity rested upon her countenance. Long and severe have been her afflictions both by the loss of her husband some months before who came to an untimely end by intemperance, and her own sickness; but she has borne them with christian fortitude and patience. And now in the last conflict when the energies of nature are all well nigh exhausted, she looks upon death with composure, and rejoices in the hope of that blessed immortality, ⁹⁷ upon which she expects soon to enter. Her answers to my inquiries were very satisfactory and such as showed that she was very ripe for the change which soon awaits her.¹ I prayed with her and bade her farewell feeling that

¹ She died a few days afterwards.

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate Is privileged beyond the common walk of virtuous life Quite on the verge of heaven."

Dreadful effects of intemperance amongst the Menominies

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19th Wishing to cross the Fox river I went to a Menominie wigwam for that purpose, and found them in drunken-frolic, the old man having a wound on his head which he had received from his wife. Just as I pushed off from the shore saw a drunken mother knock her little child down and stamp upon her furiously, but the little sufferer was soon relieved by a sober girl who ran to her assistance. Ah ! How little do the children of temperance and christian parents know how much children amongst pagans suffer, oftentimes even death itself, in consequence of the brutal vices of their parents, and how little do they realise what a blessing it is to have temperance, kind and tender parents who instead of destroying them with their own hands will thrust themselves betwixt them and harm danger.

20th. Early this morn. it was reported that a murder had been committed in a drunken frolic about two miles distant at a Menominie village. I soon set out to go and learn the truth of the report, and when I arrived I there witnessed a most shocking scene of blood and murder. A young man in a state of intoxication had beat his father brains out with a stake and then stabbed his aged mother in the small of the back with a large scalping-knife with so much violence as to break it off and leave it sticking in the wound and afterwards took a handkerchief and hung himself in the wigwam near (by) his dead father!! There they both laid dead and the mother at the door in almost an agony of pain with a number of other women about her!! 27th A young man and his wife who is a member of 8 98 the church called upon me for religious conversation. I made many inquiries of him respecting his views of sin, his state by nature and the necessity of a change of heart. All of which he answered very satisfactorily and said also that he hoped that he had submitted to Jesus Christ. I then gave him such instruction as was suited to his case respecting the new birth and his duty to God & his family, and closed the interview with prayer.

Sept. 4th Another case of death by intemperance. Attended the examination and burial of a young man belonging to the Brothertown tribe who had doubtless shot himself whilst in a state of intoxication the Sab. previous. The whole charge entered the body a little below

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the pit of the stomach and thus in a moment he was called to stand before his righteous judge.

18th. And still another—

Early this morn. an Indian came in and said that a dead body had been found in the river near his wigwam. I hastened to the spot and found that it was even so. But it had lain so long, and the countenance was so marred by the ravens that it was impossible to recognize it, yet from the clothing &c it was ascertained to be the body of a Brothertown Indian. He probably undertook to ford the river in a state of intoxication where it was impossible for a man to cross and was drowned, and has left a wife and three or four children entirely destitute having made them so by intemperance. In such a state he has gone to the bar of that God who has said “No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.”

Oct. 14th. Visited Catherine Charles an aged woman and a member of the church, she seems to be wasting away with the consumption. She said in answer to my inquiry that she thought herself near her end; but that had no fear of death and that the Say[jour] seemed near and precious, and was constantly preparing herself for her departure.

Nov. 8th.

Attended the church-meeting preparatory to the communion. Much harmony of feeling was manifested. One 99 aged man Benjamin Pye, formerly a notorious drunkard, as well as a wicked man, came forward and was further examined as to his evidence of piety. The answers which he gave to questions, were very satisfactory and so far as I can judge he appears to be a true christian. He had grown gray in sin, but now blessed be God he appears to be a new creature in Christ Jesus. Truly he is a brand plucked from the burning and to the riches of Gods' grace and mercy be all the glory.

10th Sacramental season.

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Preached from John 19:30. The audience much larger than usual and numbers appear much affected. Communion-season very solemn and interesting. The man abovementioned was received into the church. I rejoice that one more was added to the number of such as I hope will be saved. May showers of heavenly blessing descend upon this church and people and great numbers be brought to join themselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant. After meeting I went and administered it to two in private, one of them Catharine C. before mentioned.

12th Attended the quarterly meeting of the Tem. Soc. Altho' a busy time with the Indians still a considerable of a number present, particularly of the children and youth who had been especially invited to attend. The meeting was addressed by one of the Indians in a very able manner. After the address examined the children upon some temperance questions which they had been taught in connection with their S. S. Lessons. These were answered promptly and listened to with deep interest by all present. It appeared that less had drank during the last quarter than for a long time previous; and teaching the children I find to be an excellent means of promoting the cause for the instruction is carried home to their parents.

The Stars are falling.

13th. Very early this morning was awakened by an alarm wh[ich] a neighbor had given, that the stars were falling. Observing this singular Phenomenon and being 100 somewhat frightened he came to call me and said that "if it kept on they would all fall." There was a clearness and serenity in the air such as I have seldom witnessed, and the whole scene was grand and striking and filled the beholder with wonder and admiration. There was one continual fall of meteors, seemingly like a thousand lamps hurled thro' the air in every direction, some shooting horizontally and the train continuing to burn in the air for 10 or 12 seconds, others obliquely, and once or twice a cluster fell together emitting a light brilliant as lightning. They appeared to proceed from a luminous spot or nebulæ East of the Zenith; and fell less frequently as morn[ing] light approached but continued to fall until obscured

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by the light of day. This brought to my mind what a rushing to and fro there will be amongst men when they shall begin to see the signs of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven to judge the world. Ah! Whither shall the wicked flee when consternation Turns the Good man Pale?

Dec. 2d.

Death of a Menominie Indian by intemperance.

Heard that a young Indian had shot himself while partially intoxicated. I soon set out to go and see what had been done; when I arrived at the place which was about a mile distant, I found the father, sitting in the wigwam where his son was, looking very sad and having his face painted black which is the only badge of mourning the uncivilised Indians make use of. The corpse was prepared for burial, but was dressed the same as for a journey, for the wild Indians believe that they shall go to the West after death. As I opened the blanket to examine the wound having obtained permission I saw the face painted red a small mirror fastened to the body such as they carry when travelling and a pipe and plug of tobacco (were) tucked under a handkerchief which was tied about him. I inquired why they put the pipe &c there and the old man replied "that his son was very fond of smoking in his life time." He vainly imagined that his son would still use and be attached 101 to his pipe in that world to wh[ich] he had gone. I then told him that his son would have no more need of his pipe for it was not to the West but to the Great Spirit that he had gone and all who died were immediately very happy or miserable and that none who drank the Sko-tu-wah-bo (whiskey) could go where the Great Spirit dwells — They listened very attentively to what I said and I left them with a sorrowful heart, to see how they are bent upon the gratification of their lusts and how many are destroyed in consequence.

Dec. 12th Death of a member of the ch[urch]

Visited Catherine Charles and found her very weak and low. When I approached her bed-side & spoke to her she looked up with more than usual cheerfulness. She seemed

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evidently to be near her end, but was much nearer than I anticipated. Being much troubled with a cough and unable to speak but little I could make only a few inquiries which she answered satisfactorily. Closed the interview with prayer not however expecting that it would be the last as it proved to be that I should have with her this side eternity. The next morning I heard that in a very calm and quiet manner she resigned her spirit into the hands of Him who gave it at the age of sixty five years.

“Her mind was tranquil and serene No terrors in her looks were seen Her Saviors' smiles dispelled the gloom And smoothed her passage to the tomb.”

Catherine had been a member of the church about five years and during that time her life and conduct had been peculiarly exemplary. In no instance had she been a subject of discipline for any offense. Her infirmities and declining years led her to make the subject of death familiar, so that during her last sickness she manifested no desire to recover but said that she felt ready and willing to die. Tho she lived and died in deep poverty still she showed no impatience, but gave evidence to all about her that she was an heir to that inheritance which is incorruptible undefiled and that fadeth not away.

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25th. Attended the meeting of the Tem. Soc. Read the speeches of the Hottentots and made some remarks. I was followed by the head-men and some others present with animated speeches setting forth the evils of intemperance and encouraging the members of the Soc. to persevere both on account of the benefit which they had received and the good which it would do to others —Eleven afterwards came forward and subscribed, the constitution; but the Soc. was under the necessity of excluding four and received four others upon trial who had broken its rules. From the interest felt and the remarks made upon the subject it appeared evident, that the subject of tem. is taking deeper hold of their minds and that the cause is gaining ground still there are those who pursue their former course with accelerated speed.

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28th. Went to Duck Creek about 20 miles distant to visit a band of Oneidas who had lately removed there and who formerly had lived near the Stockbridges. Some have already completed their houses and others are now building.

29th Sab. Before sun-rise the horn sounded for a prayer meeting. Soon a number collected and a short season was spent in singing and prayer. At eleven o'clock the meeting commenced, the congregation was not large but very attentive. Preached from John 1:29 and afterwards administered the sacrament to about a dozen communicants who belong to the church connected with the Methodist Missionary Station there.¹

¹ See Bishop Kemper's account of his visit to this mission, August 5, 1834, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 439.— Ed.

In the eve. went about four miles and preached in the principal settlement of the Oneidas, the house very full and solemn. The spiritual prospects of this place appear dark in consequence of their having hitherto received little religious instruction and the desolating effects of intemperance,—still I am hoping that the Methodist Mission established near may be the means of doing good.

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30th. A meeting was called for the purpose of forming a Temp. Soc. The weather not being favorable and prejudices also prevented many from attending yet a small society was formed upon the principal of total abstinence and eleven subscribed the constitution. From this small beginning I am encouraged to hope by the blessing of God that great good will result and many snatched from that fiery stream which is bearing so great a number of them to a drunkards' grave.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for Feb. 1st 1834."

To the Sec. Jno. Tawse .

Dear Sir —Your very kind and obliging letter of June 18th 1833 came to hand in Oct. following and which I perused with deep interest. For you will please to accept of my hearty thanks. I rejoiced to hear from you personally and from the venerable Society of which you have the honor to be Sec. Altho' the broad ocean rolls between and a wide extent of country also intervenes, still it does afford matter of rejoicing and gratitude, that we may meet at the same throne of grace day by day and that it is the cause of one common Lord and Master which we are endeavoring to promote and if found faithful when our labors are done in his vineyard he will gather us to the enjoyment of the same glorious reward and everlasting rest—Be assured, Sir, that any communication from you or Soc. will be gratefully received, and so soon as these Indians become settled upon their new location of which I have made some mention below I shall endeavor to have them write you.

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EXPEDITION TO THE SACS AND FOXES.¹

¹ The original letter embodying this Report of Mr. Marsh is still preserved in the record room of the American Board in Boston. The hieroglyphical figure by which the Sacs &c are in the habit of representing human life" has escaped from the Report and cannot now be found.— W. W. Wight.

Stockbridge , Mar. 25th, 1835.

To Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass .

Dear Sir —i feel it a duty to make some apology for so long a delay in communicating to the Board² the result of my tour last summer with the Stockbridge Indians. But my peculiar situation, building, removing to the New Settlement, visiting the sick, together with the duties connected with my calling &c. must be my apology.

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2 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is the oldest national missionary society in the United States, having been established in 1810. It undertook at an early time the evangelization of the American Indians simultaneously with its work in India and in the Sandwich Islands. Its missionaries have always been thoroughly educated men and especially instructed to report to the Board as to matters of ethnological and archaeological interest. The report now under consideration is an instance in point.—W. W. W.

Your last brought to me the unwelcome information that you had not heard from me since I left my station directly, and now it will be necessary to recapitulate much of what until yours came to hand I had supposed the Board had received last summer.

Your last before the delegation left last June informed me that it was the wish of the Board that we should leave sooner than it was contemplated at first, but it was some two months after it was written before I received it. It was then time that we should have been on our way in order to have met Dr. W.³ seasonably, but the Indians were

3 Rev. Thomas Smith Williamson, M.D., a missionary of the American Board from Ripley, Ohio. He was a son of Rev. William Williamson, and was born at Fairforest, S.C., in March, 1800. He graduated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 1820, studied medicine at Cincinnati and New Haven, received the degree of doctor of medicine from Yale College in 1824, and studied theology at Lane Seminary, Cincinnati. His wife was Margaret Poage of Ripley, born in Mason County, Kentucky, in October; 1804. Williamson was appointed missionary of the American Board in 1834. On April 25, 1834, he started on an exploring tour from Ripley, doubtless the tour during which Marsh was to meet him. Williamson ascended the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, then the highest white settlement on the Mississippi, visited Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, and collected such information respecting the Dakotas, or Sioux, as led to the establishment of a mission among them. He returned to Ripley, July 2, 1834, and was ordained near Chillicothe, Ohio, in September, 1834. His later missionary experiences and trials in what is now the state of

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Minnesota, are foreign to this article. He died at St. Peters, Minn., June 24, 1879; his wife died at St. Peters, July 21, 1872.—W. W. W.

105 not ready and could not leave before the first of June, nor could I have done it as I was then situated, still I was ready as soon as the Indians were.

We however set out the twelfth of June. We should doubtless have started about the first had it not been unusually wet during the spring, so that the Indians could not clear and get in their crops which they must attend to before leaving. At first the Delegation consisted of five, headed by John Metoxen. This was considered a sufficient number to represent the nation and also to man our bark-canoe, on board of which we put our provisions &c. for the journey.

Nothing worthy of particular notice occurred whilst ascending the Fox river to the Portage at Fort Winnebago, excepting that our progress was slow in consequence of the Indians being unacquainted with managing bark-canoes and one of our number was taken sick and we were obliged to leave him at the Portage. The Fox river is remarkable for nothing except its meanderings and lakes; as it takes its rise in a small lake about 3 miles from the Portage, and between this place and its outlet at Winnebago Lake there are four small ones, and the widening at the Big Butte des Morts [Hill of Death] may fairly be considered as making the fifth. The largest however of these is Lake Winnebago which extends from N. to S. about 35 m. and from E. to W. about 8 or 10 m. Having so many vast reservoirs it never overflows its banks, nor does the ice break up at once in the spring, but wears away by degrees. The soil upon its 106 borders is generally barren between its entrance into Lake W. and the Portage or else it is low and swampy.

Every morning before setting out we engaged in reading the Scriptures, (each one reading in turn) singing and prayer, and in this manner closed the day also.

Upon the 14th at eve we encamped upon an eminence for the Sabbath, having in full view on our right the Big Buttes des Morts or Hill of Death, which has taken its name from the

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slaughter¹ of an entire Sac village by the French and Menominies about one hundred years ago.

¹ This slaughter occurred in the winter of 1706, as says *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 207; or in 1714, as says *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 92; or not at all, as Grignon thought, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 293. The subject is discussed in Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, chap. iv. The Big or Great Butte des Morts must be carefully distinguished from Little Butte des Morts, which is near the present city of Menasha—Davidson, *ut supra*, p. 19.—W. W. W.

In this solitary place we pitched our tent and passed the holy Sabbath unmolested and in quiet with none but our little company. At the hour of worship we retired to the shade of some shrubby oaks, and although far from the sanctuary still we felt it as good to draw near to God there as though we had been in the Christian assembly. A prayer meeting closed the day which had been neither long nor tedious but pleasant and profitable.

As we pursued our journey we occasionally saw lodges of Winnebagoes along upon the banks, but no corn-fields or vegetables of any kind which they had growing, and their personal appearance was exceedingly pitiful and wretched. Whenever they saw us coming if on the water they would put out in canoes to meet us and beg, or if on the land they would flock around as if half starved for want of food.

Col. Cutler,² the Commanding Officer, at Fort W. informed me that three or four hundred barrels of flour and a proportionable

² Enos Cutler was born in Brookfield, Mass., November 1, 1781, graduated at Brown University at the age of nineteen, was tutor there a year, and then studied law in Cincinnati. He entered the army in 1808 as a lieutenant, became a captain in 1810, and served through the War of 1812¹⁵ as assistant adjutant general and assistant inspector general. He became a major in 1814, and served under Gen. Andrew Jackson in the Creek War, and on the Seminole campaign. He became a lieutenant colonel in 1826, and was commander at Fort Mackinac from July 15, 1829, to August, 1831. He commanded

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at Fort Winnebago until October, 1835, when he was ordered to New York. He became a colonel in 1836. Resigning from the army in 1839, he died at Salem, Mass., July 14, 1860. — W. W. W.

107 quantity of pork had been issued to them from the Post and Indian Agency since the previous winter and still they were in a starving state. Moreover that they were the most indolent, thievish tribe that he knew of, and sometimes he had known as many as three or four hundred drunk at one time.

As all of their lands upon the Fox river have been ceded to the U.S. Col. C. informed me a few weeks since that he had received orders to prevent them from going down it any more for any purpose. The largest band is the one which has resided upon Rock river, and these lands have also been ceded, but they are unwilling to leave them; this they have been told they must do, still they disregard it, and it is probable that force will be employed when Spring opens to remove them north of the Wisconsin if it should be found necessary. At present, they are, as a tribe, in a very unsettled state, and the prospect of doing them good, so indolent, thievish, treacherous, degraded and unsocial are they in their habits, appears to me far less than any tribe which I have as yet met with. The Cumberland Presbyterians have a mission, or rather a missionary under the patronage of Gov't established near Prairie du Chien.¹ The Catholics are making some efforts to proselyte them and numbers are Catholics at the present time.

¹ The United States stipulated in its treaty with the Winnebagoes of September 15, 1832 (*7 U.S. Statutes at Large*, 370), to erect a suitable building "somewhere near" Prairie du Chien and to educate in elementary branches such Winnebago children as should choose to attend. Tuition, clothing, board, and lodging were to be gratuitous, and the school was to be maintained for the term of twenty-seven years. The school was started on the Yellow River in Iowa and kept there for nearly two years. It was afterwards moved to Turkey River, Iowa, where suitable buildings were erected. Rev. David Lowry of the Cumberland Presbyterian church took charge of the school. It was not very successful, though Lowry,

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an enterprising and accomplished man, remained among the Indians as their agent until 1848— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 329. Lowry removed from Nashville, Tenn., to Prairie du Chien, reaching the latter place September 7, 1833. Some account of his work is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 404–406, and in Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, pp. 183z–185.—W. W. W.

At Fort W. we were very kindly received by the Commanding Officer and other officers belonging to the Post and such assistance as they were able and as we stood in 108 need of readily afforded us. Here we passed only one night. The next day after having our luggage and canoe transported across the portage 1½ miles in length, we put off and after running 10 or 12 miles encamped for the night. Just as we had retired a tremendous cloud arose in the South and came up the river heavily charged with electric fluid. And such a thunder-storm I scarcely ever remember to have witnessed. The frequent flashes of sharp lightning, and heavy peals of thunder, the wind blowing a gale and the rain pouring down almost in torrents rendered the scene truly terrific. Our tent which had been secured with more than usual care as we were anticipating rain, was at once torn from its fastenings and required the utmost effort of every man in it to keep it from being swept away at once. Then I felt more sensibly than ever before the meaning of the words, "But the thunder of his power who can understand?" How terrible, who can withstand it and how feeble all human efforts to preserve our lives unless he keeps us! In about half an hour the wind shifted, after the cloud had passed over, to the N. W. and blew even more hard than before, and once or twice it seemed as though in spite of all our efforts, that our tent would be swept away if no more. But lie who holds the winds in his fists and directs the storm preserved our lives from harm and blessed be his name. Our clothes and bed-clothes were almost all completely drenched in rain and we suffered some but not severely from the cold. The next morn, as I walked out upon the bank saw trees prostrated in very 109 considerable numbers around us at no great distance, but as we were upon the bank we were not at all molested by them as we otherwise might have been.

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The Wisconsin is a large, rapid and majestic river but full of sand-bars which renders navigation extremely difficult and impossible for a large craft. It is remarkable for the abundance of islands with which it is studded and many of them finely timbered. There are comparatively few places where a person can see clear across the river, and it is said that there are fifteen hundred islands from the Portage to the mouth which is a distance of about 180 miles.

The second Sabbath, June 22nd, we passed at a place called the Pine Bend¹ on the Wisconsin, about 60 miles from the Portage, where was a small settlement, and a few individuals were present and attended religious worship with us. The day following we were obliged to lay by the whole day on account of a severe storm of rain. We arrived at Prairie du C. on the 25th and finding that Dr. W. had left we made no tarry. In descending the Mississippi to Rock Island we encountered a severe easterly storm, and although drenched with rain our health did not suffer in the least. This river was unusually high, as most of the islands and some of the bottoms were under water.

¹ Pine Bend (Helena) is mentioned in Fonda's "Reminiscences of Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 260, as the point where Atkinson's army in pursuit of Black Hawk and his Indians crossed the Wisconsin River after the skirmish at Wisconsin Heights. About 1830 a shot tower had been built at Pine Bend (called also old Helena) on the south bank of the Wisconsin, about twenty miles northwest of Blue Mound. The town had grown up for the accommodation of the shot makers, but had been deserted at the breaking out of the Black Hawk War. The remains of the tower are still visible near the south end of the Spring Green wagon bridge. The crossing of Atkinson's soldiers in pursuit of Black Hawk is mentioned in Thwaites's "Story of the Black Hawk War," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 256. As to the shot tower, see the last reference, also *id.* xi, p. 203, and Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 335.—W. W. W.

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Sat. eve., 28 th , we arrived at Rock Island and were 110 enabled at length to obtain quarters at the Indian Agent's, a Mr. Davenport,¹ and who has since been dismissed.

1 M. S. Davenport was the agent for the Sacs and Foxes.— Ed.

Dr. W. had left this place also the day previous in company with Mr. D. and gone to meet the Chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes in council. As Dr. W. has doubtless made a report of this to the Board I shall pass over it and only give the result of my own observation, &c.

On the Sab. I crossed over on to the main land and preached to the people whom Messrs Byington² and Kingsbury³ afterwards visited, and who had emigrated chiefly from N[ew] E[ngland].

2 Cyrus Byington was born in Stockbridge, Mass., March 11, 1793. He graduated at Andover Theological Seminary in 1819. He departed for the Choctaw nation in September, 1820, and arrived at Eliot, Miss., April 17, 1821. He was ordained in Cincinnati, October 4, 1827, and was a missionary among the Choctaws until his death at Belpré, Ohio, December 31, 1868. He married December 19, 1827, Sophia Nye of Marietta, Ohio.—W. W. W.

3 Cyrus Kingsbury was born at Alstead, N. H., November 22, 1786. He graduated at Brown University in 1812 and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1815, and was ordained at Ipswich, Mass., September 29, 1815. He was home missionary in Virginia and East Tennessee in 1815–1817. He explored with reference to a mission among the Cherokees; and having arranged for land for a station on the Chickamauga River, arrived there January 13, 1817. This station was afterward named Brainerd, and was the first station of the American Board to North American Indians. It was situated on the Chickamauga three miles beyond the summit of Missionary Ridge. In 1818, Kingsbury left Brainerd to establish a mission among the Choctaws. In four weeks he arrived in the Choctaw nation, four hundred miles from Brainerd. His station with this people was Eliot. He labored among

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the Choctaws with the American Board until the discontinuance of its mission in 1859; but his labors with them did not cease until his death. He died in the Indian Territory June 27, 1870. He married in New Orleans, December 24, 1818, Sarah B. Varnum, of Dracut, Mass., who died among the Indians at Mayhew, September 15, 1822. He then married, May 10, 1824, Electa May, of Goshen, Mass. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from Brown University in 1854.

In the summer and autumn of 1834, Kingsbury and Cyrus Byington made a tour among the nations west of the State of Missouri, visiting the missionary stations among the Osages, Creeks, and Cherokees.— W. W. W.

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What statements I now make are intended for yourself and the Committee and are the same with some additions as those contained in my communications which it appears have never reached you.

My first object was to ascertain the views and feelings of the Agent, Mr. Davenport. He received and treated me with kindness and hospitality, and declared his readiness to afford assistance in establishing a mission amongst the Indians over whom he had charge. But informed me that it would depend very much upon the feelings of the Indian Trader, Geo. Davenport, Esq.¹ and the U.S. Interpreter also, as they had very great influence over the Indians. The former having been a trader amongst them some 18 years and the latter was a half-breed. But says he, I have no confidence in either, and I think it doubtful about the part which the trader will act.

¹ "George Davenport, born in Lincolnshire, England, 1783, enlisted in the United States army in 1805 and served for ten years. With the soldiers who came to build Fort Armstrong he landed on Rock Island 1816, May 10th. In the autumn of 1835 he became one of the founders of the city in Iowa that bears his name."—Davidson's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 133, *note*. At one time he was commander at Fort Snelling.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 250.

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In Mr. Thwaites's "Notes on Early Lead Mining" (*id.*, xiii, p. 286) he is entitled "Colonel," is called agent of the American Fur Company, and is stated to have erected in 1816 a trading post on the portage between the Mississippi and the Galena (or Fever) River near the mouth of the latter. He is "credited with shipping to St. Louis, in 1816, the first flatboat cargo of lead ever avowedly emanating from the Fever river mines; it was used in payment for Indian goods." In 1822 he was represented as an Indian trader at Rock Island by Amos Farrar.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 275. As to his connection with an alleged autobiography of Black Hawk, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 300. It was possibly his son George Davenport, "who was born among the Indians at Rock Island," who was agent of the Musquakie tribe in or about 1882; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 158, *note*.—W. W. W.

As soon as convenient I called upon Mr. D., the trader, and had a long interview with him. He expressed a belief in the doctrine of universal salvation and labored almost always when I conversed with him to show "how happy the Indians were in their present state."

To the inquiry whether he thought a mission amongst 112 those Indians a good thing &c., he replied in the affirmative, but, for some frivolous reasons, said he could do nothing towards establishing one. As he manifested none other but a friendly disposition I took him to mean what he said until I should have evidence to the contrary as I afterwards had; when, after some weeks, he said to me that "Missionaries would only make them worse." This is not precisely the expression but the idea conveyed.

Mr. Metoxen has since informed me that he had an interview with Black Hawk after he had been up to Rock Island. Black H. was returning to his village and Mr. M. had just been to visit it and was on his return to Rock I. Black H. was exceedingly anxious to talk with him and meeting at a trading-house they had a good interpreter. Black H. then went on to tell him how kindly he was treated by the white people wherever he went when on his tour. "in no place, says he, did I see the white men and white squaws drinking together the same as our people do. When I passed through your place it was just so, and I want to have my people just like those good white people, for I see where they do not drink they do better

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and live better. Now what do you think is best about receiving missionaries, &c? "By all means receive them, I replied, says Mr. M., for they will do you good." Black H. "But the trader, Mr. D., told me not to have anything to do with them for they would only make you worse."

Another gentleman informed me that he met a clerk of the Am. Fur Co. on a steam-boat, and he manifested the same spirit of opposition and made precisely the same remark which Mr. D, had to Black H. This same clerk gave a horse to old Ke-o-kuck last spring as a token of friendship. Such men, the wild, untutored Indian supposes his friend rather than those who would carry to his people the everlasting gospel.

To a white man who had lived some four years with these Indians and speaks the language well I put the question, "What idea have those Indians of a missionary?" Ans. — "That he is a bad man and goes amongst them for 113 base purposes, and will only corrupt or make them worse." From what I heard and saw I should judge this man's opinion as here expressed was correct.

Afterwards when I went to visit old Ke o-kuck's village, soon after my arrival he told my interpreter that he "knew what I had come for, but he wanted to hear nothing about it." The head-chief, called the "Stabber" said the same to my interpreter when I went to his lodge. As they had had no previous notice of my visit, and inasmuch as their mode of treating the subject was so contrary to the rules of Indian etiquette, I do not hesitate to say that they had had particular instruction previously.

Another very serious difficulty which I met from the first was an almost entire want of a suitable interpreter and of a proper character. The U.S. Interpreter at Rock Island besides being connected with the Am. F[ur] Co. is a catholic and I could never obtain any assistance from him. The one whom I was obliged to employ chiefly and at a most exorbitant price was a half-breed and could speak the language as well as the Indians themselves, but I was always in doubt what to believe and what disbelieve. Although there

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are many on the Mississippi that can speak a little of the language still there are not more than three or four who can express moral or religious ideas in the language. I should have employed the white man above referred to a part of the time at least, but he was sick.

Having such obstacles to surmount it will not appear strange to the Board that our attempt to establish a mission amongst the Sacs and Foxes entirely failed of success. The Indians are themselves strongly prejudiced against any change of life as a general thing, and appear more strongly attached to their superstitions than most Indians with whom I have met, still these are not so formidable obstacles as those first mentioned.

When we arrived at Rock I. we heard that the Sacs &c. were just setting out to make their summer-hunt, a part having already gone and that Ke-o-kuck would doubtless be before we could reach his village. After some 9 114 consultation amongst themselves the Stockbridges concluded to remain until the Sacs returned which would be about 40 days. I then took a steam-boat and went down the river to the Lower Yellow Banks to overtake Dr. W. having one of them in company but he returned in two or three days to Rock I.

After a few days the Stockbridges met with the Stabber who is considered by the Sacs as head chief but not by the white people. Fearing that it would be sickly when the hot weather came on they began to wish to return and they proposed to the Stabber to make the intended visit to his people &c. At first he objected as his people were out hunting and besides they had not provisions, he said, to receive them; at length however he consented after they told him that they had provisions of their own. Accordingly they went and staid there about five days but having no interpreter could converse but little with each other and so the Sacs understood but little the object of their visit. Still I had reason to believe from what I afterwards ascertained, that a favorable impression was made upon their minds by the visit. After this the Stockbridges set their faces towards home and it was not until some weeks after they had left that I heard of it. I had gone down the river to visit one of the most remote bands upon the river Des Moines, intending to return and accompany them when they went to meet them in council &c.

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The deportment of the Stockbridge delegation during the whole tour was such as to do honor to themselves and the cause of missions. Many white people where we went had never seen a civilized or Christian Indian before, and the Stockbridges were almost as much a curiosity to them as Indians would be in many parts of the N[ew] [England].

Often the most singular inquiries would be made, as "Do they belong to the church? "Can they speak English?" &c. The appearance of John Metoxen, his conversation, &c. were universally spoken of with admiration, particularly by Christians. On their return they were of course alone and they came by land part of the way. I 115 turned the same way. And in the mining country not far from Galena the Sabbath overtook them and they stopped until it was passed. I heard it remarked by some of the people "that they sung hymns all Sabbath day;" this seemed not only new but strange to those who make no distinction betwixt one day or another when travelling.

Population of the Sac and Fox Indians.

The Indian Agent informed me that the whole number was six thousand and four hundred" But gentlemen better acquainted with their situation &c. than he, informed me that their probable number was two thousand, and possibly there might be as many as two thousand, five hundred souls; but the former estimation I should think the more probable.¹

¹ This estimation does not include a band upon the Missouri river consisting of about 20 lodges.

It was stated to me by one man who had resided amongst them four years, that he thought in the seven years since he had known them that their vices and the war of 1832 had diminished the nation one half; another man who had been much with them for some four or five years said he thought they had diminished one third. The statement made in the review of Black Hawk's life (so called) that the war of 1832 had swept off half of the nation is altogether erroneous. By some who were favorably situated for judging correctly, they

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thought that the loss might be three hundred in all. (See "Review of Black Hawk's Life" in N. Am. Review for Jan., 1835.)

Country:—Extent and Boundary.

The Sac and Fox country is bounded on the N. by the Sioux country which commences at a point 23 miles N. of Prairie du Chien. South and West by the state of Missouri and the Missouri river and on the E. by the new purchase on the Mississippi. This purchase was made after the war in 1832 and is situated upon the west bank of the Mississippi 50 miles wide at each extremity and 40 in the middle and extends the whole length of their country upon the river. It is doubtless the most valuable part of their country for agricultural purposes. For beauty and fertility of soil it is much of it unsurpassed by any that I have seen E. of the Mississippi. During the hottest of the weather I was west of the Mississippi but most of the time enjoyed quite as good health as I have in this place.

Location of Villages.—Population in each.

1. Ke-o-kuck's, the principal village of the Sacs is situated upon the S. S. Eastern bank of the Lower Iowa river about 12 miles from its mouth where it empties into the Mississippi. It contains between 40 & 50 lodges, some however are 40 or 50 feet in length, constructed of bark and in the form of houses. As it respects the exact number in each village it is extremely difficult to find out, as no census is taken by themselves, they are constantly coming and going and the chiefs often do not know their number provided they were disposed to tell. This was the case with Ke-o-kuck's village. There were probably as many as four or five hundred souls in it.

This village is situated at the northern extremity of a vast and delightful Prairie, extending for many miles south and west. From the appearance of the grass and soil it seemed as though it would abundantly reward the labors of the husbandman, having an easy and natural communication with the Mississippi where a ready and excellent market

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would be found for every kind of produce; but now this luxuriant soil affords only a scanty subsistence for a part of the year, for a single band of Indians.

It was towards eve. of the 29th of August when I visited this village. As I approached from the west having the prairie on the right and the river on the left, the sun was now going down and shed a mellow brightness over the landscape whilst all nature seemed to smile around and speak in silent accents of the goodness and wisdom of God. The natural scenery so pleasant and cheering served only to make the contrast still more striking and painful to think that none but pagan eyes and pagan feet roved over these beautiful plains. Upon entering the village which is formed 117 without any regard to order or taste my attention was particularly attracted by Black Hawk's lodge at the upper end of it. This was enclosed by a neat fence made of poles embracing an area of four or five rods square in a circular form. A little gate led into it, and all around the inside melon vines had been planted and cultivated in the nicest manner. Between these and the lodge which was also constructed in a circular form and of peeled bark there was an aisle in which a weed was not to be seen. As I entered the lodge I was received very politely by the children of Black Hawk, himself and wife being absent at the time, and such a specimen of neatness and good order I never before witnessed in any Indian's lodge. Although made of bark it was perfectly tight excepting a small hole at the top for the smoke to pass out at. As there was no floor a layer of clay had been spread over and trodden down which was almost as hard, and at the sides places were built up about three feet from the ground all around, and mats spread over upon which they usually sat and slept. It was also furnished with some dining-chairs, a thing which I saw at none of the other lodges in the nation.

Although Black Hawk has been imprudent and acted rashly in times past, still he had just cause as I conceive for dissatisfaction and complaint which led to those hostile movements. He has been degraded and is not permitted to hold any office amongst his people, yet he has a very respectable band who follow him and are much attached to him, and it is questionable whether even at the present time he is not quite as much respected

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as the haughty and high-minded Ke-o-kuck who now holds the reins of government in his own hands.

Winding my way to Ke-o-kuck's lodge which was about 50 feet long, I found him sitting with prince-like dignity in one corner of it surrounded by his young men and wives, which were no less than five. He appeared very distant and not at all disposed to converse, but treated me with politeness and hospitality, and ordered his young men to put out the horses and supper to be prepared. I found 118 him entirely unwilling to listen to any suggestions whatever respecting the object of my visit as was also the other chief, Pah-chip-pe-ho or the Stabber. There was the same unwillingness to hear anything respecting the subject of religion, and all made light of it when mentioned in the presence of the latter chief. But I was not at all at a loss to account for such a state of feeling.

2. Wah-pel-lo's village, the head chief of the Foxes is also situated upon the Lower Iowa and about 10 miles above Ke-o-kuck's. This is considered to contain about 30 lodges. As only a part of his band resided at the village at the time, most of them being at their cornfields I did not go to them as Wah-pel-lo himself was absent and I had seen him before. He is himself a notorious drunkard and his influence is not great over his band. In respect to intoxication his band follow the example of their chief.

Dreadful effects of Jealousy.

At this village I learned that a man in cool blood murdered his wife a few days before and then cut off her nose and ears. The Indians are exceedingly prone to be jealous of their wives, and if at such times an Indian cuts off the nose or ears of his wife as is sometimes the case, no notice is taken of it; for they have no laws for the punishment of any crime, and even murder may be expiated by money or presents to the friends, which seems with them to answer all things.

3. Pow-we-sheak's village is situated Upon the Red Cedar, a branch of the Iowa, and about ten miles from its mouth.¹ Pow-we-sheak is second chief among the Foxes. This

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village contains about 40 lodges and 4 hundred souls as P. informed me. There are more in it than in Wah-pel-lo's. It is not more than 12 or 15 miles west of the Mississippi, consequently upon the U.S. land. It will doubtless be removed in the course of one or two years further up the river and upon their own land. The Red-Cedar is a very beautiful and rapid stream 25 or 30 rods in width and the

1 This village is about 35 miles from Ke-o-kuck's.

119 soil where they raised their corn of an excellent quality. With comparatively little labor they might raise corn and vegetables in great abundance but alas they are indisposed as a genera) thing to alter their mode of life.

Interview with Pow-we-sheak.

When I arrived I found him and his people preparing for a sacred feast at his lodge which was about 30 feet long. He sent one of his young men to inform me that I could stay at his lodge if I wished; and assigned me a place in it according to Indian custom. After the feast was over which together with the usual ceremonies lasted between two and three hours I sought an interview with him. P. is about 40 years of age, thin and savage in his appearance and very much debased as well as all his band. Still he was much more willing to converse than either of the chiefs before mentioned. I inquired first about the instruction of his young men. He replied that he should like to have two or three educated for interpreters, &c., but he did not want schools for he wished to have his young men warriors and they did not like to be confined in a house. I inquired if he should not like to have his men make farms &c. He answered they could work the ground with the hoe and did not want a plough; and besides they did not wish to raise more corn than they wanted, but chose rather to hunt for a living than cultivate the ground. In a few years, said I, there will be no game, by the time your little children grow up. Ans.—We shall all be dead before that time. But this will not be the case if you change your mode of life. Ans.—But our way is best. The Great Spirit has made us to fight and kill one another whenever we are a mind to. I replied, this is not pleasing to Him, but to live in peace. P.—If we should now change

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our life it would displease the Great Spirit and we should all be sick and die off. Ans.—If so how does it happen that those nations of Indians who change in this manner as I have proposed live longer, and besides the Great Spirit gives them a great deal more than they had before and they do not have to go hungry &c? Evasion.—P.—Two made the 120 earth and all the people, viz.—We-sa-kah and the Great Spirit, and the latter made the red man different from the white man. Ans.—But how different? The red man has a body and soul as well as the white,—he eats, sleeps and wears clothes just as the white man does and how is he different? Evasion.—P.—After a person dies we carry victuals to the grave for him to eat. Ans.—At death the body turns to corruption, and the soul being a spirit cannot eat. No reply. P.—The Great Spirit has given us our Me-shaum. How do you know this? Ans.—It is made known to us by dreams when we fast. But cannot the bad spirit speak in this way as well as the Good? Ans.—But we know when the good and when the bad spirit speaks. A great while ago, says he, all of the nations leagued against us and we were almost all cut off, only a few lodges remained (referring to the wars they had when in the region of Green Bay) and our Meshaum was all that saved us. Afterwards, finding it to little purpose to talk with him I spoke to him respecting Jesus Christ, his suffering and dying for sinners &c. P.—When that God died was it the time when all the ground shook? But Jesus Christ will come again I remarked. And by means of a picture I explained to him the scenes of the last day,—the resurrection of the dead—the separation of the righteous and wicked and where the latter would be sent, &c. He then said to my interpreter that he did not wish to have me say any more for it made him afraid,—afraid that he should dream about it.

I have quoted this interview with Pow-we-sheak at length, not only because it contains the views and feelings of those Indians generally upon other subjects, but because it may be considered as a fair expression of the feelings of the Fox chiefs upon the subject of civilization, &c.

Where he speaks of not wishing to raise any more corn than they wanted, he meant any more than they had been in the habit of raising; and that is but a small quantity besides what is eaten before they set out upon the fall hunt, which is the first of Sept.

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After the conversation with P. some young men gathered around me to whom I showed some specimens of O-jib-wa writing with which they were much pleased. I inquired if they should like to learn, and they replied, that they had no one to teach them. Should you like to have some one come and teach you? Ans.—No: we do not want to learn for we want to kill Sioux. An old man afterwards came along with whom I had had conversation before. I then told him something respecting the Bible and whilst we were conversing it was reported that there were some Sioux camped near and in the morning they were going to have a fight. He then inquired provided they went out to fight and carried that good book if it would help them?

A drunken frolic followed that night and the village was disturbed during the whole of it by the sound of revelry and intoxicated Indians passing frequently thro' the lodge where I kept. My horses were also stolen and rode during the night and considerably damaged but returned the next morn, about sun-rise. About this time also P. entered the lodge to which they had just brought the liquid poison, having remained sober during the night, and partook of it with the rest. The Foxes appear generally more addicted to drinking than the Sacs and consequently more debased.

Interview with a family at the corn-fields.

On my way to this village I did not reach the cornfields which were at some distance from the village until a late hour in the eve. The owners were now encamped in them, harvesting the corn, drying, shelling and putting it up in sacks for winter. The family with which we put up received and treated us kindly and hospitably, as Indians are accustomed to do to strangers, setting before us dried Buffalo meat for our supper. The old woman was

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a half-breed and quite intelligent. Seeing some ears of corn hung up having the husks very carefully adjusted and tied at the top I inquired what they were for? Ans.—For the boys to eat during the winter after they had been fasting. Sometimes they fast six days and then four rows of the 122 corn are given them to eat. But why do they fast, I enquire. Ans.—That the Great Spirit might love them and make them good warriors. They have to do this on account of their enemies, the Sioux, for they are often killing their people. Do the boys pray when they are fasting? Ans.—No: for they have none to teach them how to pray. Do you (speaking to the old woman) ever pray? Ans.m No: for I have never been taught and I do not know how; if some one would come and teach me I should then know how.

After this I made some inquiry respecting cultivating the land and living as white people do. They replied they should like it but perhaps their chief would not. At the close I spoke of Jesus Christ and his gospel, and she made answer that she had never heard of these things before.

Bones of the Mammoth have been discovered in the Red Cedar in a state of petrification near P's village. I saw a piece of tooth supposed to be about one third of it which weighed *seven lbs.* and was 6 or 7 inches long. As the Indians were very superstitious about letting it be known where the bones were I was unable to see them. They relate that they are constantly shifting their position; that a man has been drowned where they are; and that another raised some of the bones out of the river but not thinking it quite right to retain them went and buried them in the Prairie and died in about two days afterwards. They therefore think that there is something very mysterious about them and hold them in great veneration. A woman who had obtained a piece of a tooth kept it in the most careful manner for medicine and would not part with it on any account. A man who visited the village soon after I did was attacked with a kind of bilious colic, they immediately prepared some herb-drink tea and scraped in some of the celebrated tooth, and required him to drink it, which was thought to be a certain remedy.

4. Ap-pen-oor-es village, called Ah-taum-way-e-nauk, (Perseverance Town).

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This is situated upon the south side of the Des Moines 123 (Monk) river and about 125 miles from its mouth. It consists of eight lodges, was commenced in the spring of 1834 and has about 250 souls in it. The location is delightful being upon the bank where it is very high, and having a large and fertile prairie extending 7 or 8 miles in a southerly direction and about two miles wide.

Near this village there is a salt-spring and within a mile and a half excellent mill-privileges, and a sufficient quantity of timber in the vicinity for building and other purposes.

This is the most eligible place which I met with amongst the Sacs and Foxes for a missionary establishment. In addition to the natural advantages it is removed at a greater distance from the white settlements than any other of their villages, being by water about 90 miles. It is quite probable also that the Sacs will concentrate at this place or near. All their hunting ground is upon this river and old Ke-o-kuck had come to the determination, it was said last fall, to sell his Reservation on the Iowa consisting of four hundred square miles because as he said "he was too near the whites."

The Des Moines which the Indians call Ke-o-shah-quah is a rapid and beautiful river, remarkable for uniformity in width, it being generally about 40 rods wide. According to the Indians' account of it, it is eight hundred miles long and heads above St. Peters on the Mississippi. The water is clear and good except when swollen by rains, and there are in most places an abundance of excellent springs of water breaking out from the banks and bluffs. It is said that steam-boats might ascend it for a considerable distance in the spring when the water is high which begins to rise the fore part of April and continues to in the following month also. In the fall Mackinaw boats can ascend but it is with difficulty on account of the low stage of the water.

About 25 miles from its mouth I took passage in a canoe and ascended to the village above mentioned; much of the way the bottom of the river was a solid bed of lime-stone. In some places the shores are bold, but in others the bluff 124 is a half a mile distant

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and the shore hard and sandy. In its banks and bluffs coal is found in great abundance. Copperas and other minerals no doubt abound upon the tributaries of this river. The fine, rolling prairies, covered with a luxuriant growth of grass and flowers of every hue, which everywhere skirt its borders present to the agriculturalist a powerful inducement to search for the treasures hid in their bosom. This whole region seems to have been formed by nature for agriculture and I have little doubt but that before another generation shall pass away those delightful fields and plains will be covered with flocks and herds. But alas! what will become of the poor Indians?

5. There is also a small village upon the Mississippi about 40 miles below Rock Island, of Foxes and Winnebagoes consisting perhaps of a dozen lodges. To the latter band the prophet belongs who dreamed so fatally for Black Hawk in 1832. These Winnebagoes as well as almost all the rest are notoriously thievish and troublesome to their neighbors, the Foxes. Amongst the Foxes who live at the lower end of the village I passed a Sabbath. They were now harvesting their corn and treated me with great hospitality, but when the holy Sabbath dawned upon them seemed to be entirely ignorant of it and of everything relating to the concerns of the soul, accordingly they went on with their work as usual; and when I spoke to them of eternal things they only. "made light of it."

Having secured my horses as I supposed and committing them to the care of my interpreter, I retired to the woods in order there to unite my supplications with the children of God who were assembled in the sanctuary. This I felt to be indeed a blessed privilege although I was as a sparrow alone upon the house-top. But my interpreter being unfaithful suffered the horses which were much troubled with flies to get out and go off. As soon as I found it out I made search as I felt it a duty being amongst strange Indians. After some hours' search they were found just in time to save them, for the Winnebagoes had taken them up and were upon the point of taking them across the river. This appeared quite providential as I should doubtless in a short time have seen no more of them.

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Towards eve, a friendly chief of the Ws' came clown and told the Foxes to look out for their horses as an Indian was going to leave that night and was intending to steal a horse. The Foxes all took up their horses and prepared themselves to kill the W., provided he came, but to my great joy he did not, as I had no doubt they would have done as they said, considering their horses as of more consequence than the life of a fellow-creature.

The next morning early I set out in company with the old man with whom I had been so kindly entertained, and some others for Rock I. After a short ride came to the Winnebago lodges. As I approached the prophet came out to meet me and shake hands.

When I reminded him of having seen him on his tour with Black Hawk he assented with a half suppressed smile which seemed to indicate that the recollection of the past was to him unwelcome. There was a peculiar air of melancholy resting upon his countenance, and his whole demeanor seemed to show that there was lurking within a mingled feeling of humbled pride and disappointed hope. Then he lives in richly merited obscurity and is remembered only for his past mis-deeds.

Besides the villages now enumerated there are a number of others which hardly seem worthy of the name scattered round in various places consisting of three, four or a half a dozen lodges perhaps, some of which I visited; and others I did not think it worth the while.

In addition to the Sacs & Foxes now described there is a village of 20 lodges upon the Missouri river near the Black Snake Hills and about 40 miles below Fort Leavenworth.

Disposition to receive Instruction.

They are generally strongly attached to their pagan rites and superstitions and guard with jealous care against any change. The great object of their pursuit is war and hunting, in the former they glory, and it is a distinction highly enviable, to which the young and ambitious thrive to attain, to rank among the *braves* so as to be able to wear the pole-cat's tail upon the calves of the legs and the Shau-no-e-hun (small bells) and strike the post

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in the war-dance and tell over the number of enemies which they have killed or wounded in battle. To this there are some exceptions however. One of the most striking is Ap-pen-oore the chief of the village upon the Des Moines. He is young and aspiring, and possesses more independence of mind and fortitude than any of the rest of the chiefs. In addition to this he has far more patriotism than any of the rest of the chiefs excepting Black Hawk. The other chiefs are exceedingly jealous of him, but he is fully aware of it and as he is young stands in some fear of them. Ap-pen-oore from time to time has expressed a strong desire to have something done for the improvement of his people. This was a great desideratum with his father Ta-ma, who was a much respected chief. A. is at times anxious himself to receive instruction. He possesses naturally an excellent, inquisitive mind and is one of the most kind and gentlemanly Indians that I ever met with. But he is a great drunkard, and my not succeeding to gain his consent to have a school established at his village I attribute in a great measure to a drunken frolic which took place just at the time appointed to bring the subject before him. After he became sober he seemed far less inclined to do anything upon the subject than before.

Could an influence of the right kind be exerted over him he would soon, I have no doubt, be willing to have schools established and his people instructed. As yet, however, most of the influence which has been exerted over him by the white people has been of the worst kind. (But more of this hereafter.)

Old Ke-o-kuck has in years past manifested a strong desire to have one of his own sons educated but of late his mind has been changed and for a very obvious reason. He is altogether under the influence of the traders of the A[merican] F[ur] Com[pany] who are exceedingly hostile 127 to missionary operations. (See also Mr. Metoxen's interview with Black Hawk.)

At a council held with the Sacs &c. whilst I was in the region Col. William Davenport, Commanding Officer at F. Armstrong, (Rock I.) strongly urged upon the chiefs and head men of the two nations to have missionaries, &c. They replied, "They did not want

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missionaries.” He then spoke of the advantages of forming an education and pointed them to the house and farm of the Interpreter across the river, and says “in a few years you also might have good houses and farms—it costs Gov’t a great deal of money to hire teachers and now you may have them for nothing.” To this no reply was made.

Relation to other Tribes.

The Sacs &c. are in a state of perpetual warfare with the Sioux. Their hunting ground joins on the N. W. and there are mutual complaints of encroachment which is one great cause of hostility. The Sacs &c are more warlike than the S. and more than a match when equal numbers meet in battle, but the Sioux are the most numerous by far, so that they live in constant fear of each other. They are also in a state of hostility with the Winnebagoes and Menominies. I have heard, by the way, that there has been a massacre of some Menominies the winter past by the Sacs. With all of the other neighboring tribes I believe they are upon terms of peace & friendship.

Facilities and Difficulties in the way of doing them good.

With regard to difficulties in the way of doing them good, some I have already enumerated, viz:— Opposition from white men,—very superstitious and attached to their rites, &c. To these may be added their vices, indolence and roving habits.

Provided the Sacs concentrate upon the Des Moines as it is expected that they will either where Appenoore has his village or in the vicinity; and if they could be induced to receive teachers &c. and locate in a few years under the 128 influence of the gospel they might become independent. Because then almost every natural advantage might be enjoyed. The country is healthy, the soil excellent, timber for building &c. near, an excellent place for erecting mills within a mile and a half of A's village and a salt spring close by. Their produce could most easily be carried to the mouth of the river where there is always a good market during the whole season that steam-boats ply upon the Mississippi. It would not be difficult at all to make a road by land from the M. to almost any point upon the Des

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M. They appear more tractable and not so phlegmatic in their temperament as Indians further north.

In respect to the plan of a mission, the kind of laborers, &c. I would remark, that it should be small at first, so as not to excite their prejudices, still suitable buildings should be erected for the sake of an example. The kind of laborers is of the greatest importance. They ought to possess more than an ordinary share of firmness, patience and perseverance. The Sacs are very shrewd observers of white people; missionaries should therefore possess a good degree of knowledge of human nature; should be circumspect yet affable and have much of the milk of human kindness. With all they must be persons of faith and prayer, so that they may take strong hold of the promise "Lo, I am with you always," and confidently expect in "due time to reap if they faint not."

Could a *native* teacher be procured who understood their language, and was capable of instructing them in reading, writing and farming, I have no doubt but that he could gain access amongst them at once. But such a person I know not. We have none in this tribe of the right stamp.

Religious Rites and Ceremonies.

They are very scrupulous with regard to their religious rites and ceremonies. I have as yet seen no Indians as much so as they be. In the first place I shall commence with giving an account of their Meshaum, which is sometimes called Grand Medicine-bag.

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The Me-shaum is a parcel or bundle in which are recorded by knots in strings, stones &c. and also by hieroglyphical figures the names and wars of their gods in ancient times; and their religious belief also or revelation which they suppose was at first delivered to their ancestors by We-sah-kah their tutelary god.¹

¹ We-sah-kah is very probably Noah.

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We-sah-kah is regarded in their mythology as the creator of the new world after it had been destroyed by a flood. The Me-shaum is held in high veneration; none are permitted to open or inspect it, except the one having the particular charge of it. It is opened only in case of invocations to the Great Spirit, in which dogs are often slain and offered in sacrifice.²

² The dog feast is one of the most sacred feasts—no Indian not belonging to the Me-shaum, or white person can witness it.

Ordinances of the Me-shaum.

To fast every morning in the winter season.

To fast ten days in order to obtain signal revenge upon an enemy.

To invoke and sacrifice every time a man has killed a bear or some choice game.

That a woman shall not come into the lodge at certain seasons (during her monthly courses) nor eat anything cooked at the same fire in the lodge.³

³ This superstitious custom has been observed by Indians from time immemorial and the only reason they give for it is “their ancestors did so.”

To give away property to the poor for the good of departed relatives to the land of Shades.

It teaches that the Great Spirit gave them the wild beasts for their sustenance; and requires them to be forgiving towards those belonging to their own family or nation if they have received any injury, but that revenge must be taken upon an enemy. These are some of the most important things required by the Me-shaum. It was formerly considered so sacred, that it was hung upon the limbs of a tree outside of the lodge lest it should be polluted by an unclean woman. 10 130 It was formerly death for a white man to open and examine it. Some years ago a white man near the De Bukes mines on the Mississippi

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seeing one hung upon a tree, was led by curiosity to take it down and examine it in the absence of the Indians. As soon as he took it down and opened it the children began to cry to see their fathers' Me-shaum profaned in such a manner. When the Indians returned and found out what had been done, they pursued after the man and he was obliged to leave the country in order to save his life.

Names of their gods.

We-sah-kah — god of the earth.

Nah-pat-tay—Brother of W. who being slain by the gods of the sea, W. sent him to the land of shades or Che-pah-munk, where he still exists as chief of the shades.

Mah-she-ken-a-peck and Nah-me-pa-she—Gods who inhabit both land and water; and the

Ai-yam-woy—Men of terrible size or giants.

Besides these inferior deities they recognize a Supreme Being whom they call Kâ-mah-nu-too—Great Spirit.

The Ai-yam-woy were a race of supernatural beings, descendants of the gods of the sea and inhabited the ancient world.

Traditions of the Me-shaum.

In process of time the Great Spirit addressed the spirits on earth in the following manner: "Spirits of my breath I have created you all to enjoy the earth and wide-spreading waters, and with you I shall now make a division of them. We-sah-kah shall possess the dry land and Nah-mepa-she and Mah-she-ken-a-peck the waters. But We-sah-kah shall be chief and you shall obey him in all things, for to him I have given my terrestrial sphere to make war and peace with whomsoever he will. At length he will become elated and say within himself, I am the Great Spirit. Moreover in memory of this eventful day I shall create a

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race of beings after his own likeness." Accordingly mankind were created in the image of We-sah-kah. After this 131 the legions of spirits flew from the presence of the Great Spirit and inhabited their destined places. To mankind was given knowledge and fire as a compensation for their nakedness. To the beasts of the forest hair and fur and to the birds of the air, feathers.

Such were the times of old when mankind were under the protection of We-sah-kah.

At length the Ai-yam-woy became very numerous and over-ran both elements at their pleasure, so that the children of We-sah-kah were in danger of being totally destroyed by those terrible demi-gods.

We-sah-kah seeing this sent his brother to the gods of the sea to remonstrate against the depredations committed by their children amongst the race of the chief god of the earth. But instead of listening they slew Nah-pat-tay; his blood however ran out of the gulf and reached the dry land. Immediately a drop formed itself into a body and the shade of Nah-pat-tay being present entered it and he became as before.

He then sought safety by flight, but was met by the Ai-yam-woy who devoured him leaving only one drop of blood. We-sah-kah upon hearing of the death of his brother fasted ten days¹ and vowed destruction to the gods of the sea. At the end of the tenth day We-sah-kah heard the voice of his brother's shade at the Door of Life crying for entrance. But he answered "go to the land of shades and there be chief of men that shall die like yourself." (Nah-pat-tay they suppose was the first who died and so was constituted chief of the shades of mortals.)

¹ This it is said is the reason why the Indians fast ten days, in order that, as We-sah-kah did, they may obtain signal revenge upon their enemies.

The Flood.

After the departure of Nah-pat-tays' shade, We-sah-kah prepared himself with the great spear, and went with the speed of an eagle to fight the Ai-yam-woy, the murderers of his brother. He met and slew them; this occasioned a war with the gods which lasted for a long time. The gods 132 of the sea having the great deep at their disposal resolved upon destroying We-sah-kah and his race even at the loss of their own lives. A great council was therefore called for the purpose, and all the chiefs were assembled and agreed upon the destruction of the world by flood. We-sah-kah hearing of this fasted again for ten days. At the end of the tenth day his voice reached the Great Spirit, his prayer was heard and answered and mankind, the beasts and birds &c. were preserved. Then the waters began to overflow the plains and We-sah-kah fled before them with his family &c., until he reached a high mountain. But the water soon overtook them and he built a great raft upon which he put all kinds of creatures and then let it loose, so it floated upon the surface of the great waters. After a long time We-sah-kah began to be sorry and fasted ten days. At the end of the tenth day he dreamed he saw the dry land. Awaking out of sleep he sent down the tortoise, but he returned without any clay; he then sent down the muskrat, and he brought up clay between his claws, out of which W. formed the dry land. Then mankind and all the creatures which had been preserved were spread abroad upon the face of it. They now lived in peace and happiness because there were no Ai-yam-woy or any spirits of destruction to trouble them having all been exterminated by the flood.

The end of We-sah-kah.

We-sah-kah was now sole chief of earth and mankind were his children. At length the people became very numerous and unable to remain together. They then separated under their fathers San-ke, Mash-qua-ke (Red Fox) and Ash-e-kan. There was also one other but his name was blotted out from amongst men on account of his offending We-sah-kah, because not contented with long life, he asked not to suffer him to die but live forever on the earth. This so incensed W. that he immediately transformed him and his children into

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stones and they remain so until the present, and their names are forgotten by all the tribes of the earth.

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The place was called Mixed Water, the dwelling of We-sah-kah, from which these three fathers commenced their journey towards the South, each tribe under his particular father.¹

¹ They can give no account where the place of the Mixed Water is.

Before the division took place We-sah-kah gave to each father a Me-shaum in which this narration is recorded by songs.

Afterwards the Great Spirit met W. and forgetting that he was a creature of the Great Spirit, told him that he had destroyed the infernal spirits from off the earth and rebuilt this new world by his own power. But the Great Spirit opened his Me-shaum and showed W. the beginning of his existence; at this he was ashamed and sorry and humbled himself for ten days. Notwithstanding the Great Spirit disregarded his invocations, and took him by the heel and east him to the ends of the earth, and put Po-po-na-te-se, god of winter, betwixt him and the world to prevent his ever coming amongst mankind again.

Belief respecting the future state.

If an Indian fulfils during his life-time the requirements of the Me-shaum, he believes that at death he shall go to Che-pah-munk or the happy land; but if bad he will not be able to cross the bridge which is no wider than a man's foot, and leads over the Mah-na-sa-no-ah or river of death. This a bottomless river and if the man has been wicked he is attracted by it and plunges in, but if good it has no power over him, and he passes in safety and joins the legion of Nah-pat-tay where he enjoys everlasting happiness. (Note. But let it ever be remembered that holiness or purity of heart never enters into the Indian's idea of

goodness; the same is the case with regard to badness—it is not impurity in the sight of Him who cannot look upon sin with allowance.)

Che-pah-munk or the happy land is situated far at the west and abounds in game of all kinds and whatsoever is pleasing to the sight or taste.

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Manner of treating the dead.

When a person dies, his face is painted red, his best clothes are put on, and all is prepared the same as for a journey. With the corpse is buried the implements of hunting &c., as they suppose that all of these things are needed in that world from “whose bourne no traveller returns.”

About two years ago Ke-o-kuck the head chief lost his nephew. A paling of stakes was made around the place where the remains were to be deposited. The corpse was then placed in a sitting posture after having been dressed in the usual style, (but was not buried) with his rifle, knife &c. &c., all by his side. Ke-o-kuck then led up one of his best horses, put the reins into the hands of the dead, and shot the horse. A white man being present asked him why he did that? “Because,” says he, “I do not want to have him go on foot;” meaning to the west.

They have no idea of the judgment after death or of a future resurrection. Their dead are buried with the head towards the west.

Sacred Feasts or Invocations.

These are numerous whilst they remain at their villages and have anything with which to make them.

When a man makes a feast for the Great Spirit, he partakes of no part of it himself, although he may have fasted for two days previous, but leaves his place or portion for

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the Great Spirit and is engaged whilst it lasts in chanting the sacred songs. If a dog gets so much as a bone of the meat which has been eaten it pollutes the feast, everything therefore which is left is either burnt or buried.

These feasts they call invocations (Mah-neh-tah-moan) or worship of the Great Spirit.

When a man wishes to make a feast or have an invocation he sends for the Mam-e-she-mau-kah (Cooks) belonging to the Me-shaum of which he is a member and they are told to make the necessary preparations. If it is a dogfeast (which is the most sacred) they kill the dog &c. or if he has not sufficient with which to make a feast they go 135 round and beg until enough is obtained. As soon as the kettles are put over the fire an appointed number commence singing, keeping time by shaking a gourd-shell which has something in it which rattles. The place is previously enclosed with curtains if the lodge is large and no one is permitted to enter it except such as belong to the Me-shaum or have a special invitation.

These sacred songs consist of only a few words which are repeated in a very devout manner, over and over, for a considerable length of time; which forcibly reminds one of the Savior's injunction, "use not vain repetitions," &c.

A few of the aged women generally attend, and sometimes respond to the sacred songs emitting the sound through the nose which sounds more like persons in distress or deranged than like devotion.

Returning one morning from a season of retirement to Ap-pen-oore's lodge where I staid I found a party engaged in a sacred feast, and singing the sacred songs.

Ap-pen-oore then mentioned the design of them &c.—"Only a few words" says he, "of the songs are mentioned which bring to mind the traditions delivered to our ancestors by the gods and a speech is made at the close (of the feast) which shows the meaning of them." The following is a translation of one which they were then singing, as given to me by my interpreter. "Go and you shall have two horns upon your forehead; and when you

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return your horns shall be blue like the sky." The meaning of which seemed to be, go and be masters of the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, &c. "At first," says A., "the Great Spirit made eight persons and promised them *two* horns, but sometime after he saw them and they had only one. Our Me-shaum is the same to us when we open it as the Book [the Bible] is to the white people, for by it we learn what the gods delivered to our ancestors to be handed down from generation to generation."

Attendance upon a feast or invocation, Aug. 11 th .

This morn. an invitation was sent to me by Ap-pen-oore to attend; considering it as a mere matter of civility and 136 not as giving countenance to their superstitions I accepted of the invitation. Considerable of preparation had been previously made, the apartment carefully enclosed and was one of the most sacred and ceremonious which I witnessed. At the appointed time I went in. The sacred songs had all been sung and all was silence for a few minutes. A. then made a speech occupying some fifteen or twenty minutes, repeating as I was informed the requisitions of the Me-shaum. All listened very attentively and occasionally responded by a loud grunt. At the close he ordered the Cooks to serve the company which they did, dealing out to each individual his portion in a dish or wooden bowl. When they took the kettles from the fire a ladle full of the broth contained in them was taken out and one went round the fire pouring a little of it into the fire very carefully as he went round. And each portion was also carried once round the fire before it was given to the individual. No one began to eat until all were served, but each was engaged in taking off the things with which the pieces of venison were tied together, or else in stripping them to pieces as no knives or forks were permitted to be used. These, as well as the use of salt are strictly forbidden by the rules of the Me-shaum, and nothing except a spoon may be used. When all were in readiness to eat, the kettles having been with much care turned over at each end of the fire, each one, beginning at the head, uttered a few words, which were thanks to the Mam-e-she-mah-kah, and then began to eat. The same expression of thanks was given at the close. Some, I observed, were unable to eat their portion, such sent out and invited a friend to come to their assistance as nothing

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must be left which could be eaten, and the remainder viz:—the strings and bones were all collected and burnt in the fire, together with some stuff taken from the Me-shaum, which was considered as a kind of incense. Then followed a long speech or prayer by the chief speaker and he was followed by the Chief with another. These speeches were said over in a solemn but hurried manner and are used at every sacred 137 feast. After all these and other ceremonies also were performed it was announced that the feast was closed and as each went out he went once round the fire; the whole occupying an hour and a half or two hours.

These feasts are attended with great formality and seriousness and are considered as religious worship offered to the Great Spirit, still they exert no moral influence whatever that I could observe, either to restrain from doing wrong, or as leading to that which is right in the sight of God.

One Indian who attended this feast was remarkably scrupulous in observing every ceremony and in requiring others also to do the same, and exceedingly troubled because my interpreter carried in a little salt for his own use. He told him that he was a very bad man because he did it, worse than white man, &c. This Indian only the day before I saw intoxicated, but now he enters and partakes of the sacred feast as welcome a guest as any ether. However base their conduct or vile their character may be it does not disqualify for the enjoyment of their most sacred privileges. So soon as an Indian rises to the rank of a *brave* and this he does whenever he has killed or wounded an enemy in battle, he then can belong to the Me-shaum and partake of the sacred feasts.

The religion of the Me-shaum is therefore peculiarly adapted to their habits and manner of life. It lays no restraint upon their unbridled appetites and passions, nor requires any of those things which the law of God does in order to be a good Indian. Skepticism or entire disbelief in the Me-shaum does not disqualify for the enjoyment of its most sacred privileges, nor is unbelief threatened with any penalty. He may be a drunkard, a debauchee or a glutton and still perform all of its requisitions and at last go to Che-pah-

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munk or the happy land. In their prayers there is no confession of sin nor do they suppose that sorrow for it is necessary in order to obtain the favor of the Great Spirit. Indeed I could not find that they had any *words* in their language for sin and especially repentance 138 in the evangelical sense. As they have no idea of the holy character of God, so they do not know that any atonement. is necessary for sin, or renovation of heart or spiritual cleansing in order to render them acceptable in his sight. Total darkness in respect to all of these things which it is of most importance for them to know, rests upon their minds and when I spoke to them concerning them some would laugh and treat them as idle tales whilst others would say “they did not believe them” or had “never heard anything about them before.”

Virtues and Vices.

Kind and generous to strangers and friends, always dividing with them if it is only the last fowl when they come to visit them. The more temperate and steady regard lying as very bad, and many of them very honest and trusty especially when anything is committed to their charge. Generally addicted to intemperance both old and young. But a few years ago and it was seldom that one was seen drunk excepting some of the old people and hardly any of the young people or women got intoxicated; but at the present time there is little difference in respect to either men or women. This vice is evidently gaining ground amongst them. Many are addicted to lying, stealing and dishonesty. They are licentious, and the men extremely indolent excepting when they make their fall hunts, which commence about the first of Sept. and continue until the last of Dec. or the first of Jan. During this time they rise early in the morning and go out and continue to hunt until dark. In the meantime the women are employed in drying the meat and taking care of the skins, &c. They are also extremely proud and haughty, particularly the braves who are highly esteemed—vain and extravagantly fond of amusement of all kinds, such as card-playing, gambling, frolicking and dancing, &c.

The women are generally quite industrious and employ their time in making mats, sacks, moccasins, dressing skins 139 &c., whilst in the lodges; and abroad perform all of the drudgery, such as procuring wood for the fire, preparing the ground and planting and hoeing in harvesting, whilst their husbands are loitering about or engaged in amusements, taking apparently no interest and having no concern about the employment of their wives.

Nothing scarcely can be more fantastic, or ludicrous than the dress and ornaments of a young brave. All of the fore part of the head is often shaved leaving only a small ring of hair on the crown of it about an inch long, which is stuck up with the greatest care with a preparation of vermillion and tallow. On the back of it is generally worn the Wah-we-yeh pen-nu-wen which is an ornament made of Elks' hair, round at the bottom and branching out each way towards the top and is painted red. Around the neck he wears strings of wampum or fine beads, and sometimes a necklace of bears' claws, consisting perhaps of thirty or forty. From his ears are suspended some kind of jewels or ornaments hanging down six or eight inches. The face is sometimes painted all over red but more generally streaked in the nicest manner with red, blue and yellow, or some other color. When preparing for a dance most of the body is in a state of nudity, excepting the girdle about the loins and then those parts are painted in the same manner. Around the calves of the legs and perhaps on other parts he wears the Shau-no-e-hun (little bells) and tales of the Polecat are nicely suspended. From the calf of the leg also is often suspended a piece of scarlet cloth having cut out of ribbon in miniature, with the head cut off, as many enemies as he has killed in battle or else the number of hands in the same manner. With all of these and oftentimes many other ornaments, having a spear perhaps decorated with feathers, ribbons, &c. tied to it, or else a snake's skin which is considered a fine ornament he makes his appearance abroad, dandy-like, the envy of his less favored companions and the admiration of all the young squaws.

About the first of April they return to their villages, repair their lodges and prepare for planting. Here they remain until they have done working the corn, when a part leave to make the summer hunt, which is the last of June or the first of July, and it lasts about forty days or until corn is fit for roasting. A part of the old men, women and children are left to take care of the corn-fields and villages. After this hunt is made in which they take principally the deer, elk and buffalow they remain at their villages until corn is harvested, which is about the first of Sept. Their time is now spent in feasting, dancing and other kinds of amusement. As soon as the corn is harvested, shelled, dried and put up in sacks, a part is buried for future use, and the remainder is carried with them; they then abandon their villages and go to their hunting grounds where they remain until about the first of Jan., when they collect at some place of rendez-vous and pass the remainder of the winter as before-mentioned after the summer hunt.

A Sabbath at Ap-pen-oore's Village.

Aug. 10 th .— This morn we invited Ap-pen-oore to breakfast with us. It had been previously intimated to me that he was skeptical in respect to the religion of his people, but I had never heard him before intimate anything of the kind. Possessing naturally a quick, penetrating mind, and disposed to inquire into the reason and consistency of things he has been led to see the emptiness and inconsistency of their Me-shaum; and having received no proper instruction in the Christian religion he is an infidel in respect to all religion and a future state also.

Soon after we commenced eating he began of his own accord relating to the interpreter his belief. "From respect," says he, "and civility to my people I follow the Me-shaum, but I do not believe in it, nor that there is any truth in the traditions said to be handed down by it from our ancestors." "My body," continued he, is a substance animated in some way by the air, and at death the breath will go out of it 141 and that will be the end of me and I shall be the same as before." As it would not have been considered according to the rules of Indian etiquette to tell him he was mistaken, I took the opportunity immediately after breakfast to

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speak to him of Jesus Christ, and by means of a picture explained also the scenes of the final judgment—the rising of the dead and the separation of the righteous &c. He listened very attentively and examined the picture with much apparent interest. After I got through he inquired “If there was anybody now living who had seen this God who came down from heaven and heard him speak all of these things.” I replied that those who did see and hear him speak all of these things wrote them down just as he spoke them, and they were the very words which I had been speaking to him. At this he made no reply but turned to something else. I explained also the scenes connected with the giving of the law at Mt. Sinai and how it was given; but finding a disposition to cavil I broke off the conversation by reminding him that he would soon see and feel the reality of all that I had said. He replied that he thought it was best to enjoy ourselves in this life and not trouble ourselves with gloomy thoughts &c.

After a season of retirement I returned in order to converse with my interpreter and the clerk of a trader who was now keeping there and such other individuals as I might meet with, I saw a canoe coming up the river which had been sent down with an order from the clerk for whiskey, a distance of one hundred miles. I soon ascertained that they had only ten bottles instead of 50, the quantity ordered, as a present after the summer hunt and paying their credits. This small quantity instead of the 50 bottles was in consequence of some interference on my part which brought upon me the no small displeasure of the clerk. I immediately went to Appenoore and earnestly entreated him to have it destroyed as it had been sent for without his order. He called his head men and after a short consultation ordered them to go and destroy it. But the order was not obeyed as there were some of them who wanted the liquor and they had already begun to drink. Still neither A. nor his four counsellors drank any, doubtless in consequence of what I had said.

Now all was confusion and uproar in the village where one hour before there was the utmost peace and quietness. Having been frustrated in my design of conversing with individuals I again retired to the woods about a quarter of a mile distant in order that I

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might enjoy the day alone, but the air was rent with their savage yells and whooping which could have been heard at a much greater distance.

At eve I was obliged to return, it was then more quiet as the liquor was drank up, but I ascertained that there had been fighting &c. as is usual on such occasions and two or three who lost friends in the war of 1832 threatened to take the life of the clerk and interpreter by way of revenge. One of them was accordingly bound until he should become sober. To all this the clerk replied "Hoh, it is nothing to what I witnessed the winter before amongst Black Hawks' band on the Mississippi!"

At supper we again invited A. After the blessing was asked, he remarked that "formerly his people had a custom of the same kind of giving thanks to the Great Spirit whenever they ate, but now it was laid aside excepting at feasts." On a former occasion we invited him to sup with us, and after the blessing was asked he inquired of the interpreter what it meant. He told him that I was thanking the Great Spirit for food &c. "Why," says he, "that is just like the Indians, I thought the white people never did it, but were just like the hogs because they thought themselves God."

A Night Scene.

At evening as I sat in A's lodge noting down the occurrences of the day and waiting for his return, having appointed that time for me to lay the object of my visit before him; the sound of revelry was struck up in an adjoining one used for a council-house. Although there had been much noise during the day in consequence of feasting and dancing still it did not disturb the peace of the village; 143 and all were now retiring in quietness. I feared what was the case and soon one came in and said that a canoe had arrived bringing whiskey. At a late hour I retired having given up all hopes of seeing A., as I expected that he was drinking.

About 12 o'clock I was awaked suddenly by a most tremendous yelling like drunken Indians fighting. I immediately arose and put on my clothes so as to be ready in case any

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personal violence should be attempted to make my escape. Soon all of the fires in the lodge (which was about 100 ft. long) were lighted up and all were called out in great haste for some purpose I knew not what. The women however returned very soon and went up and down in the lodge laying aside every kind of weapon with which any injury could be done, and all seemed to be upon the look out.

A partial cessation then took place, but soon again it commenced loud and terrible as ever, —some ran out of the lodge in great haste and others to examine the guns to see if any were loaded and to secure them, whilst abroad there was a dreadful yelling and confusion. Drunken scenes are exceedingly unpleasant and revolting to the feelings when witnessed in the daytime; but the darkness of the night adds a gloom and terror which cannot be described when one is in the midst of them, and cannot easily get away; because he does not know when he is safe, or what deeds of horror the drunken savage, who seems rather like a fiend let loose from the bottomless pit, may be plotting. Thus I felt, far removed from any white settlement and having only one white man, the clerk, and the interpreter, a half-breed, with me.

I ascertained very soon that they were fighting and that one had a knife; numbers ran to the door of the lodge to guard it lest he should enter. The clerk afterwards went out and brought in the chief who although partially in toxicated came where I was and told me to lay down to sleep for he had set a guard to keep all out of the lodge, which was indeed the case after he came in. And there was little disturbance during the remainder of the night. With feelings of great joy I hailed the light of the next morning, giving thanks to God for the gracious protection of the night from all harm.

It appeared that all of that disturbance and fighting in which one Indian had his ear bitten off, was occasioned by three bottles of whiskey, which cost as they usually sell to Indians 75 cts., and afforded a profit to the venders of about 50 cts. How awful, thought I, must the day of judgment be to such as for a little, paltry gain can be accessory to so much evil and wretchedness as well as place the lives of their fellow creatures in jeopardy!

The day after this¹ was the time in which I was obliged to lay the object of my visit before him. It was very unfavorable, as he still felt the effects of the drunken frolic the eve. previous, and was so ill that he could hardly listen, but I could not defer it any longer both on my own account as well as the Indians' for I had been then a number of days waiting for A. to return from his summer hunt and they also as soon as I had laid my business before them had national business which would occupy some days. Before this frolic I felt quite confident of being able to accomplish something there as he and some of his head men appeared favorably disposed. After this he appeared quite different and little inclined to do anything towards having schools &c. established amongst his people. I could attribute the change to nothing but the effects of liquor. In his answer to me he stated they did not wish to change their religion as a nation, but as every man was free if any individuals were disposed to they had no objections. That they wanted no missionaries, but in respect to teachers they had nothing to say; as he did not consider his land independent of the rest of the nation he could not act alone; still if the other chiefs wanted teachers he would also give his consent. This is the substance of his reply. The sketch of it which I took down at the time is mislaid and I cannot now find it.

¹ This was previous to the Sabbath described above.

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Speech of Appenoore.

Aug. 11 th . Expecting to leave tomorrow, I requested the chief to call his head men together in the eve. for I had a few words to say to them. I then made a short speech upon the subject of temperance, setting forth the evils of intemperance, &c. This was listened to very attentively and as each sentence was interpreted it was responded to by a loud grunt, which is the Indian mode of giving assent.

To this A. responded in a very polite and energetic manner, which was for substance as follows:—"We have listened," says he, "to what you have said and believe it to be all true.

I have myself thought strong drink to be some evil spirit which had taken upon himself this form and was going round destroying mankind. You have described this vice so that we have seemed to see it, but we are so weak, that we are afraid when we go abroad again we shall be attracted by it. We had formerly some wise men amongst us, and as they got acquainted with the white people, and found out what a destroyer it was among Indians, they told their people that an enemy would be nothing to it and we see how true their words are. It was for this reason we left the Mississippi in order that we might get away from strong drink and we are hoping by making some laws and by the restraints of morals to do it away. You saw, yesterday, (referring to the Sabbath) what work it makes in our settlement and how we had to run away in order to get away from it. (referring probably to myself) And as you have said that you hoped we should become a happy people we ourselves hope that by some means it may be the case."

The next morn. when I left he gave me venison for my journey and I parted with him with every expression of cordiality on his part. I afterwards met with him on board a steam-boat but he had had a drunken frolic. So soon, however, as he became sober he came and invited me to go and sit by him on his mat: but after he had been at *Rock Island* a short time he appeared quite different. 11

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Feelings of a young man after having killed the child of an enemy and customs of war.

A young man having heard much about the satisfaction of being a brave, he thought as soon as he should kill an enemy he should be very happy. Accordingly when engaged with a war party he attacked a little child who ran into the bushes to get away from the enemy. He pursued after it; the child earnestly entreated him to spare his life, but disregarding its entreaties he struck him with a spear in the breast which the little creature endeavored in vain to remove as long as he could. But instead of feeling very happy as he anticipated after killing the child he was exceedingly wretched, and could not free his mind from the

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dreadful impression, because the image of the child seemed constantly before him—his pleas for life and trying to extract the spear constantly haunted his imagination. He went and told the chief his feelings and he replied that he well knew how he felt and that it was the shade of the child that troubled him. That on his return home he must run round the town three times, wash himself and then the shade would leave him and he would feel better.

This it is said is the custom of war when they return to camp without the town, go round it three times and then they suppose that the shades of their enemies whom they have killed will leave them.

Without Natural Affection.

“In the fall of 1831,” said my informant who was an eye-witness, a few lodges of Sacs, &c. were encamped upon the Des Moines about 10 miles from its mouth. At this place there was an Indian who had an aged, infirm and blind mother. He said that she was of no use to him and he had been troubled long enough with her. It was now late in the fall and the weather had become cold. Just before leaving he went out upon the bank of the river, stuck some sticks down in the ground and put up a mat against them so as to break the wind off. Here he put his poor old mother without food or fire and then put off in his canoe 147 up the river. Whilst in that sad, forlorn condition she was continually crying for bread being helpless. But the hearts of the Indians as hard and unfeeling as the undutiful sons' were unmoved by her entreaties and they talked about knocking her in the head because her cries annoyed them so much; and in this condition she remained until she actually starved to death within a few rods of 4 or 5 lodges!!

Plurality of Wives.

Any Indian can have as many wives as he can *purchase* or maintain; as taking a wife is in most cases a mere matter of traffic. Sometimes five or six horses are given for a wife, but there is no fixed price and it is generally just as the parties can agree. The match or

contract is made by the parents, the young woman not being one of the party or even consulted. In Appenoore's village there were six men having *fifteen* wives, still these men had but few children. Appenoore had four wives and the winter previous six and he has only three children living and has lost five. His brother has two wives and no children living. Old Ke-o-kuck had five wives and seven children I believe living, but said he had lost more than ten; he has also had a good many women whom he has put away. This can be done at pleasure, or when either party becomes disaffected. The woman takes the children and she can then return to her father's or get married the same as before; although a woman who has had a number of husbands depreciates and can be obtained for a less amount. They have no idea of the sacredness of the marriage relation, it being merely a matter of convenience or interest without any kind of moral obligation attached to it.

Having a number of wives does not appear to add in the least to the favored Indian's happiness (if the expression is admissible) and they seem to have no kind of community of interest or affection for each other, more than they have for any other individual. I observed that at Appenoore's lodge each one had her own things separately cooked and ate separately and had a separate place in the lodge to sit and sleep.

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Bitter envies and jealousies are often springing up and quarreling and fighting amongst themselves. Although the husband may be an eye-witness of this still he does not interfere but lets them fight it out and if one is driven off he makes no ado about it, but either lets her go or else perhaps he may go to the lodge where she keeps and keep company with her there. Indeed the man takes little or no interest apparently in the affairs of his wife or wives and but very few converse with their wives familiarly or treat them as equals.

The condition of their females is similar to that amongst all other wild Indians; the woman having to perform all of the drudgery whilst her lordly husband looks on with indifference or is fixing his ornaments, engaged in some kind of amusement or idling or sleeping away his time. The Sacs particularly seem to have much better ideas of civilization than most of the

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natives which I have seen. They have many cooking utensils and some of the women can cook very well and make tolerably good bread. Their lodges are generally kept cleanly, being swept every day; and their places for sitting, sleeping &c. are about 3 feet from the ground and covered with clean mats and sometimes with buffalo robes. I have seen no mats manufactured by Indians so nice as well as durable as those made by the Sac women. These are made of a kind of grass or rush which grows in the water, and is dyed with flowers which grow in the Prairies and are woven or put together with a kind of coarse yarn made of the bark of a tree.

Whilst I was at Appenoore's village in particular the women were up by sun-rise and engaged in their daily labors; these they pursued with a kind of cheerful silence until evening, submitting to their hard lot without a murmur and with a truly laudable dilligence.

Belief in Witch-craft.

This they strongly believe and use charms to keep them off. They even suppose that a witch may kill a person at a great distance. This they think he does by making an image of the person whom he wishes to kill, and then dipping a quill in some medicine and then touching it to the image.

Language.

The language of the Sacs and Foxes very nearly resembles the O-jib-wa and doubtless originated from it. Some words are entirely different, as for example the O-jib-wa says Kuk-ka-nah, the Sac chauk [all.] O. Ke-wain-se, S. push-e-to. [old man.] O. moak-a-mon, S. mah-tiss. [knife.] O. O-nish-e-shin, S. wach-e-ton. [good.] Other words have only a slight difference in pronunciation, as O. Sag-a-nash, S. Sak-a-lash. [an Englishmand] O. ke-kaindon, S. ke-ken-it. [to know.]

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The Sacs can generally understand the O-jib-wa although many of them told me they could not speak it, but there are some who are able to do it. The Gottalwottamy, Kicka-poo and Cree language are also similar to the O-jib-wa.

Their Hunt growing poorer.

Four years ago a trader upon the Des Moines informed me that the Sacs and Foxes made four hundred packs of fur but in the winter of 1833 only between 140 and 150. At the present time they have to ascend the Des Moines about 200 miles before they find deer plenty and 250 miles in order to find buffalo, and here they are often hunted by the Sioux which keeps them in a continual state of hostility.

The Soul.

Unlike the Ottawas they believe that the soul leaves the body immediately after death, but that it cannot pass the narrow bridge until the friends have thrown goods for the dead as it is called, that is, made a feast and given away goods to the poor; but that it wanders round in a state of unhappiness, or comes back and troubles the friends, perhaps is the occasion of the death of other friends or else of misfortunes. After this is done it passes the bridge in safety, if good during life, and enters the happy land. The land of shades, Che-pah-munk, where Nah-pat-tay is chief, is not the dwelling of the Great Spirit, nor do they suppose that they shall ever dwell in his immediate presence, but in a terrestrial paradise.

They are taught also from childhood that the soul of a departed relative who has been murdered cannot rest until the friends have revenged his death; this therefore is constantly present to their minds, and regard for that friend and desire for the rest of his soul keeps them in a constant state of disquietude until revenge is taken. To forgive an injury done by an enemy is no part of their religion.

The Sabbath.

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They have no knowledge or tradition respecting the Sabbath, or that one part of the time is to be regarded as any more sacred than the rest. But twice a year in the month of Feb. and also in the fall the precise time being ascertained by inspecting the entrails of the deer, they have sacred feasts for which the most choice things are reserved or sought for to eat, and the most sacred songs are sung such as are not made use of on other occasions. There is also a feast of thanksgiving when the corn becomes fit for roasting: so scrupulous are they in respect to it that a child will not touch either corn or beans although he may be hungry, until after the feast is held.

I received many contradictory statements from different individuals and where I felt any doubt respecting the truth of any statement I have carefully omitted it or else have given what appeared to be the most probable. Still in some things future investigation may show that I am either mistaken or was misinformed. From the time I went amongst them until the present I have felt an earnest, longing desire to have a mission established amongst them. Nothing but the gospel exerting over them its purifying and benign effects can arrest even the dreadful work of destruction which is now going on so rapidly amongst them, as well as save a single soul from death. Often when looking at their condition I felt somewhat of that stirring of spirit which Paul felt at Athens but I could not speak O-jib-wa well enough to converse with them intelligibly nor obtain interpreters that I could confide in or do their duty faithfully. Could I have spoken the O-jib-wa well I might have got along tolerably well without an interpreter; still one would be necessary in giving religious instruction who could speak the language well. Although superstition, self-interest and infidelity may for the present shut the door of entrance in unto them, yet I shall not and cannot cease to pray that "He who openeth and no *man* shutteth" will soon prepare the way for the gospel to be preached to this interesting but fast degenerating tribe.

April 21 st .—Since the most of the above was written I have received your kind favor of March 2 nd acknowledging the receipt of my communications. You mentioned respecting my communications last summer as having been received &c. In the one which I now

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forward you considerable contained in them is repeated, but as I am greatly pressed with business and as it would take considerable of time to rewrite it I have concluded to send it in its present form. I regret that I have not time to copy it and make some alterations, as I have had to make it principally in fragments of time when not obliged to be attending to something else. I hope that this may be a sufficient apology for the many deficiencies which may appear in it.

The decision in respect to the course which was pursued towards Mr. S. &c. was perfectly satisfactory and I am gratified to learn that the Board entertain the same views respecting mission property &c. that I do.

With regard to Mr. Barber¹ you mentioned as having written

¹ Rev. Abel Lester Barber was "the first resident minister in Wisconsin to labor under commission from the American Home Missionary Society." Born at Otis, Mass., November 23, 1803, he graduated from Amherst in 1831; entering the ministry, he arrived at Mackinac November 11, 1833, and in July, 1834, went to the Stockbridge mission, afterwards serving at Fort Winnebago and Milwaukee. Later, he became a newspaper editor at Prairieville (Waukesha) and Milwaukee. Davidson, in *Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 209, *note*, says "he had certain infirmities of temper that made it almost impossible for others to get on with him." He died at Wallingford, Conn., October 7, 1876.— Ed.

¹⁵² me previously respecting him but that letter has not come to hand as yet. I would remark that it has been my intention and that of Mr. and Mrs. H.¹ also to treat Mr. and Mrs. B. in the manner you mentioned. Still he is a man of that kind of temperament that it is not easy at all times to treat him as one would desire. I also wrote you a few weeks since respecting him, and I have since thought you might be led from the spirit of that letter to conclude that I have treated him with severity or unkindness. it is possible it may appear so to him still I cannot feel that he has any cause for complaint, for I have endeavored at all times to act a kind and condescending part towards both.

1 Chauncey Hall, a colporteur, who was an assistant to Marsh.— Ed.

I enclose with this communication a hieroglyphical figure by which the Sacs &c. are in the habit of representing human life.² The picture of a spear at the right hand of the E[Ik] as is stated below on that paper, represents a man's life and those other marks across it represent what he calls his war roads. The figure was originally drawn by one of the Sacs at my request and copied exactly by my interpreter,

² Upon p. 104, *note* 1, *ante*, Mr. Wright states that the “hieroglyphical figure” mentioned by Mr. Marsh is missing from the original report in the archives of the American Board, in Boston. Since that page went to press, however, we have discovered in the archives of our Society what is undoubtedly the original of this figure, apparently drawn either by the Indian or the interpreter, along with other MS. data upon the me-shaum, upon which Mr. Marsh based his report thereon. See also, Marsh's reference to hieroglyphics, on p. 129, *ante*. The following is a reduced facsimile of the figure, with the original lettering improved. — Ed.

153 and below he added the explanation. But I have made some corrections of spelling &c. so as to make it more intelligible as he could write the English language but indifferently. In that drawing the Indian represented his own life. The tribe is divided into clans, as for example, there is the clan of the Elk, of the Bear and of Thunder; and it is a curious fact that each person has a name given him expressive of the creature or thing after which the clan is called.

When they see a figure of any kind painted on a post where a man has been buried they are able not only to recognize the clan to which he belongs, but can even tell his name, although they may never have known him personally. As for example an Indian sees the fork of a tree painted on the post at another's grave. He at once recollects that there is no clan in his tribe called after any creature which climbs a tree excepting the *Bear*, this then

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is the clan to which he belongs, and the name of the person buried there would be Nah-sow-wah-quet. (Fork of a tree.)

I intend also to forward a map of the Des Moines so soon as I can get one drawn. A person by examining the common maps has a poor idea of the streams west of the Mississippi.

My connexion with Dr. Williamson was short. After we met upon the Mississippi we concluded to descend the River about 60 miles to the mouth of the Des Moines and go up and visit Appenoore's village, 125 miles from the mouth of it. We did so and procuring a guide and horses went up by land, hoping to find Appenoore at his village as it was thought he might be there. This occupied some days and the tour on account of the warm weather and some rain also was quite severe. On my return I was attacked with the dysentery just after Dr. W. had left to return to his friends in Ohio. I should have remained at the village when there until A. returned, but there was no interpreter and it was doubtful whether the one who had been there, but was then absent, would return. In addition we had a scanty supply of provision for our journey back 154 and none could be obtained of any kind at the village. I therefore concluded to return to the trader's house (who had at this time a small establishment at the village and a clerk there) about one hundred miles down the river and there remain until A. should return, as I had heard that he was somewhat disposed or desirous to have his people instructed. In addition, whilst I was at the trader's A's head men sent down a request for me to come up when their chief should return and lay the subject before him. The particular object of my visit had not been made known to them at this time as those head men were not at the village when we were there; but they had heard that I had some subject which I wished to lay before their chief. At the trader's house (A Mr. William Phelps)¹ I was sick one week. It was here also that Dr. W. and myself agreed to separate as he wished to return to his friends and thought that it would not be of much use for him to remain. In this opinion we were unanimous and parted bidding each other God speed.

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1 In *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1878), pp. 343 et seq., Maj. John Beach, formerly Indian agent, contributes an early history of Indians and the fur trade on the Des Moines River. He makes frequent references to Keokuk, "Appanoose," and "Capt. Billy Phelps, of jovial memory;" on pp. 361–363 is related a typical frontier anecdote, in which Phelps plays a trick on Governor Lucas.— Ed.

Mr. Phelps, although a professed infidel in sentiment, still was friendly to my object, treated me with great hospitality and would take no pay for my board whilst I staid. He and a brother of his also are trading in opposition to the Am[erican] F[ur] Co. and it rather operated to our advantage than otherwise. And Mr. P. declared that if something was not done soon for the Sacs &c. they would all be swept off.

And now I have embodied the most interesting facts and occurrences which I was able to obtain and which occurred during my tour. It is but duty to remark that in every place I received every mark of kindness which I could desire, particularly from Christians; and God's watchful care over me in preserving my life and health upon a tour by 155 land and water of over thirteen hundred miles, and in permitting me to return to my beloved station after an absence of three months and some days, demands of me gratitude and praise and thanksgiving. Bless the Lord, O, my soul, and forget not all his benefits, bless and praise the Lord.

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh .

THE SOCIETY'S APPRECIATION.

Society Hall Edinburgh 3 March 1836

Dear Sir —I have received your very interesting Journal dated Green Bay 15 July last. The parcel from D r . Codman which contained the journal, reached my hands late in December, and I have now had an opportunity of laying it before the Directors of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. They beg me to express to you, how much

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they were interested in the minute details which you have given, no less than by that truly missionary spirit By which the whole seems to be dictated. The Directors trust that the knowledge which in your excursions to the districts of the Sac and Fox tribes you have acquired of the customs manners and conditions of those tribes, will prove valuable in enabling you more effectually to promote the great object of your being placed in your present situation, and which from the tone of your journal the Directors are assured you have so deeply at heart. The earnest prayer of the Directors is, that your labours and exertions may be accompanied by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and be blessed in turning many from darkness to marvellous light—from the ways of idolatry, to serve the loving and true God.—from the ignorance of Superstition, to the knowledge of the everlasting truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Among the many discouragements which you must have met with, you have much reason to bless God for the evidences He has already afforded of the riches of His Grace; and how rich and abundant would your reward be even if 156 you had no other seals of your missionary labours than the closing days of those two young Indians, of whom you seem to have no reason to doubt that they died in the Lord, and of whose death you have given so interesting an account. These circumstances we would hold as a token for good, and sincerely trust that when the Stockbridge tribe, get more settled in their new place of habitation, you will have more abundant cause of rejoicing in seeing the work of the Lord prosper in your hands.—

I intend to publish some parts of your last interesting Journal in the appendix to the Society next anniversary sermon. This was done in regard to one of your former journals, and was read with much interest—If I can get an opportunity I shall send a copy of some of the late Society sermons to Dr. Codman to be forwarded to you.

I regret much that I could find no good map so as to be able to trace out exactly your present settlement or to follow you in your late route: if you could accompany your next journal with a chart of the places and distances it would make it much more interesting.

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With every good wish for the continuance of your health, and for abunda[n]t success in your labors—I remain

Yours faithfully Jno. Tawse Secy Society for Prop. X tian Knowledge.

The rev d . Cutting Marsh Stockbridge, Green Bay America.

Indorsed: "John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Scot Soc. Prop. Chr. Kn. March 1836"

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1838.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay W. T. Jan. 15 1838

To John Tawse Esqr. Secry of the Venerable Soc. for Prop. Christ. Kowledge. Edinburgh, Scot.

Dear Sir .—Your very kind and affectionate letter of March 6th 1836 was duly received; and I will briefly mention 157 the reasons for not continuing the correspondence regularly since I last wrote you: It has not been owing to any unwillingness &c on my own part, but I was informed by one of the Secretaries of the Am. Board that there was some dissatisfaction on the part of the Soc. respecting my absence in 1834 when I visited the Sacs & Foxes and which might lead to a dissolution of my connexion with your Soc. Still I received no intimation of the kind from your Secry in this country, The Rev d Dr. Codman. I however wrote him in 1835 at the same time I forwarded my last journal explaining the reason of my absence and supposed if they were satisfactory and that if I might still forward my bills of Exchange &c. that he would write me, but I have never received any answer to that communication consequently I did not forward any bills of Exchange at that time and no journals since and concluded that the connexion was to cease. Still I have continued to labor amongst the Stockbridge Indians as before and have received my support from the A B &c. By the recommendation of one of the Sec ries of the A B &c I have concluded to renew the correspondence, and forward my bills of Exchange

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leaving it for your Venerable Society to act their pleasure about receiving them; but with this understanding, provided they are received I shall forward my journal &c semi-annually, but if I hear nothing from the Society I shall conclude that it is their pleasure to have the correspondence &c discontinued.

I will now proceed to give you a brief history of the state of this people since I last write.

Notwithstanding the great embarrassments under which they have & do still labor in consequence of removal for a few years past, there has appeared to be a gradual improvement in the morals and habits of this Nation; and generally they appear to appreciate more & more the blessings of civilisation, as well as of the gospel. They have long felt the need of a more efficient code of laws amongst themselves, for the punishment of evil doers & the encouragement of those who would do well, and last winter (1837) 158 a Committee from among their number was appointed to draft a constitution & code of laws modeled according to the constitution &c. of civilised nations. This business was ably executed, and they met with the approbation of the best & most enlightened part of the nation. But were strongly and violently opposed by a few, who formed a party and rebelled against them and chose leaders or officers for themselves of their own numbers. Proposing the above mentioned laws &c. seemed at once to be drawing the dividing line betwixt light & darkness, paganism and civilisation. But the former were fixed in their purposes respecting an alteration in their civil code & have steadfastly persevered in their object.

A horrid murder was committed by two young men belonging to this nation a year ago last July (1836) upon the body of a Brothertown Indian in a drunken frolic. They were afterwards tried by a joint council of the two nations convicted and sentenced to be executed upon the gallows. But by the assistance of their friends succeeded soon after in making their escape. This affair gave rise to very serious difficulties both amongst the people & in the church as some of the friends of the murderers were members. Still I am fully persuaded from all I perceive, that the cause of Temperance is gradually making

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progress amongst them. I have not known a drunken frolic in the Town since that awful event, altho' individuals have drank and do still whenever opportunity offers.

The Temperance Society, based upon the principal of *total abstinence* numbers about 90 members of both sexes, and quite as lively an interest is taken in the prosperity of the Soc. as at any previous time. Some progress has also been made in discouraging the use of Tobacco for which poisonous drug and no doubt after much inquiry on my own part and observation, is a fruitful source of intemperance, Indians universally manifest an excessive fondness. Whilst it is to be classed with alcohol in its various forms & opium and leads to many of the same results as the use of the former on the system as well as to the use 159 of strong drink itself it is far more difficult to convince them of their error than it is of the use of ardent spirits, and whilst many will readily abandon the use of the latter they appear exceedingly reluctant to give up their tobacco.

Since making my last communication there have been four deaths among the members of the church. These gave not only at their death but also in life very satisfactory evidence of having passed from death unto life, that death was their gain and that they had gone to that blessed world where they are secure from the power of Temptation & Sin.

I have baptised during this time 18 children and six adults by a profession of faith. Five have been excommunicated and one of them restored to full communion & fellowship with the church.

The Sabbath School embraces a greater part of the congregation who assemble voluntarily with the Children at the interval of public-worship on the Sabbath to receive instruction from the holy Scriptures. The day-school has continued with some interruptions and the cause of education is making progress.

The latter part of last winter (1837) a season of protracted-worship was held, which continued eight days. The trials which the church experienced in consequence of the murder abovementioned and some other cases of discipline rendered the preparation

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very difficult. But by the blessing of the Great Head of the church upon this little branch to purge itself from such as brought a scandal upon His cause they succeeded and the result was very salutary and issued in the hopeful recovery of one in particular who had greatly offended. The meeting was thus preceded by faithful and thorough discipline in the church, by individuals settling many little differences which they had amongst themselves, and then by an open confession of faults one to another and praying for one another and all humbling ourselves before God on account of our sins and departures from Him. I was aided in the meeting by a brother who was at that time laboring at Green Bay among the white 160 people; where sometime previous he had also held a protracted meeting which was blessed. Having prepared the way in the manner now specified, we began to preach the great doctrines of repentance towards God & faith in Jesus Christ. There were three meetings held each day & prayer-meetings at the intervals. After there began to be anxious inquirers a part of the forenoon was spent in giving them personal instruction & praying with them. At first, as a protracted-meeting was a new thing with them, some for a time kept back and looked on with distrust, but soon these apprehensions all vanished and in two or three days from the commencement of the meeting there was quite as general an attendance as on the Sabbath. All except necessary business was suspended for the time, and the concerns of the soul became the great subject of tho[ugh]t and conversation. Altho' deep feeling was manifested still no pains was taken to excite their sympathies, yet the solemn and sometimes awful silence which pervaded the congregation, and the fixed attention to the preached word, all seemed to say God is in very deed here. The effect was strongly felt thro' t[he] whole settlement, and not a family which attended regularly but what was more or less benefitted either in quickening such as were already professors of religion, or in the hopeful conversion of some one in the family.

At first there appeared to be quite a large number who turned unto the Lord, but soon trials came and many showed that they were not building upon the *Rock*, for they were carried away by them. And numbers also of the members of the church fell, but as I would fain hope to try and purify them, for some have returned again confessing their sins, but of

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others I stand in great doubt. Of those however who during the meeting indulged the hope of having experienced a change of heart sixteen have united with the church and three young men all hopefully pious, and two of them expressed a hope during the meeting, have gone to a Seminary in the state of N. York in order 161 to prepare themselves for more extensive usefulness among their brethren & kindred according to the flesh.

Most of this number were young people or heads of families, and since in five families, family worship has been established. Notwithstanding the numerous defections; in view of Gods dealings with this church we are led devoutly to exclaim "behold what hath God wrought!" "The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly." The church now numbers sixty two members in regular standing. Four are under censure and two of them will doubtless be excommunicated, having been for the most part the cause and leaders in all the difficulties and disturbance which the nation has had of late. These difficulties however have not originated altogether in opposition to the new constitution & laws, but also in the murder a year ago last Summer, and in dissatisfaction to a Treaty which the head men made with a U.S. Commissioner for a sale of part of their lands.¹ These two men at the head of a very small party amongst the Stockbridges are still persevering in their opposition &c. and where or when the troubles of the nation with them will end I know not.

¹ This culminated in the treaty of September 3, 1839, between the United States government and the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes, by which the Indians ceded to the United States "the east half of the tract of forty-six thousand and eighty acres of land, which was laid off for their use, on the East side of Lake Winnebago, in pursuance of the treaty" of October 27, 1832. For this land the United States agreed to pay one dollar per acre, which amounted to \$8,767.75; besides this, \$3,879.30 was paid for improvements already made thereon. It was further stipulated that in the event of the Indians desiring to move farther westward, the government should pay the expenses of an exploring party of three of their number, also the cost of removal of the tribes.— Ed.

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They have again been strongly solicited to sell and remove West of the Mississippi and South of the Missouri river. A delegation was accordingly sent the latter part of the Summer accompanied by a U.S. Comm r . but after exploring the country faithfully they could find no place [with] which they were pleased. Unhealthiness of the climate scarcity of wood, it being mostly prairie, and badness of 12 162 the water were their principal objections. Their report was accepted, and as [a] nation they unanimously resolved not to sell & remove.

Indorsements: "Related the Anecdote of the old man and woman left on an Island at Leach Lake.

"Forwarded at the same time bill of Exchange for 50£ Stg: Dated Jan 1st 1838 for one year previous viz. for my salary for 1837.

"Report to the Soc. Scotland Jan. 1838."

NOTE FROM THE SOCIETY.

Dorchester , 16 Oct. 1838

My Dear Sir .—Your journals were received last Spring & one of them forwarded to the Parent Society in Scotland. I have recently received a letter from the Secretary containing the following

"Mr. Cutting Marsh in his letter says he would have written sooner, but he has been informed that there was some probability of his not being continued in that station on the pay of this Society. Where he received that information on the banks of the Fox River I do not know, but I will thank you, when writing him, to say that no such decision has been come to by this Society, & no such resolution will be adopted or acted upon, with out giving him & you due notice. I therefore beg he will continue his communications without regard to any reports which he may hear, until he receives direct instructions from the Society.

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The receipts of his Salary shall continue to be paid as usual.

The Society has not at present any thought of making any change in regard to Mr Marsh's appointment I would have written him myself but have not time at present & therefore, I will thank you to take the earliest opportunity of informing him that I have received his letter & beg he will continue his communications as regularly as he can."

I am happy, my dear Sir, to forward the above & to assure you that I shall always be happy to receive & forward 163 your journals & to certify the bills of exchange you may draw for your salary.

With sincere prayers for your success in your missionary labors I am my dear Sir, your friend & brother

John Codman Secy of the Boston Board &c &c

Rev Cutting Marsh, Greek Bay.

Indorsed: "Dr. Codman, Dorchester, Mass. Nov. 1838."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1839.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay W. T . May 8th 1839.

*To John Tawse Esqr. Secry of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge
Edinburgh, Scot.*

Dear Sir —I have heard from you by your Secry in this country the Revd. Dr. Codman, and learnt with much satisfaction, that my report was received and accepted by your venerable Society. In my last I intimated that I should report semi-annually again if my reports were accepted; but such has been the state of things amongst this people during this time and so little to communicate that could interest, that I have deferred making this some months

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over a year, hoping by the means either to have something more interesting to state, or to see how difficulties to which I referred in my last might terminate. In this I have not been wholly disappointed, altho' the state of things at present is far from what could be desired.

Their national troubles are not at an end; last year they were greater than they ever have been before, occasioned by the opposition of a small, hostile party, but inasmuch as it has not succeeded in carrying measures into effect as it anticipated, there has been a more calm state of things for a number of months past.

We have had severe trials also in the church and numbers have fallen into temptation and others shown as we have fearful reason for believing that they had "neither part nor lot" with Christ. A state of national peace and 164 harmony, and when all seemed to be going along together we have found not to be the most suitable to try religious character for then almost any one could appear like a christian but when old customs some of which were mere relics of paganism were to be laid aside, and regulations substituted in accordance with civilisation and the gospel, and when efforts were made to have righteousness and justice succeed to unrighteousness &c. on that lax state of things which characterized their former state. One very manifest effect of these trials has been to establish such as we have reason to believe are the children of God more firmly in the truth, so that more dependence can be placed upon them, and they act also more in consistence with the character of christianity. So that I rather rejoice than otherwise for all the trials which we have hitherto been called to pass thro. As might be infered from such a state of things in the nation religious feeling was at a very low ebb. Most of last year so much were the minds of the people generally occupied with their National affairs, that it seemed difficult to turn them off upon any other subject.

Since my last three have been excommunicated and eight are now under censure; some of these however appear to give evidence of penitence. Two have left the place and gone to a distant part of the Territory without permission, leaving now in regular standing forty

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members. Ten children have been baptised and one adult on profession of faith; and there have been four deaths in the church.

* * * * *

Nov. 6 th A Munsee Indian who came to this place over a year previous from Canada called upon me with an interpreter in order to give up a family idol. This man whose name is Big-Deer is upwards of 50 years of age, and since removing to this place, thro' the influence of this family above mentioned has attended meetings constantly and gives some evidence of a change of heart.

The history of this idol was very interesting. He said that his mother gave it to him before her death which occurred 165 about 29 years ago, and that he had worshipped it until within a few years when he heard about Jesus Christ, but had never given it up before. "Now he says I wish to give it up and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, and I give this idol to you and you may do what you are a mind to with it." It was indeed not only a "shameful thing," but a horribly looking object about the size of a common doll; fantastically arrayed in Indian costume and nearly covered with silver broaches and trinkets; and whilst retained as an object of worship was kept wrapped up in some 20 envelopments of broad-cloth trimmed with scarlet ribbon. They called it their "Mother" it is more than a hundred years old, and its late possessor was the fourth generation which had worshipped it. The season for worshipping it was in the fall after a hunt when they made a feast to it and danced around it. "If they did not do this every fall they said, that is, make the feast &c. it would be angry and destroy them by some dreadful sickness." It was therefore an object of fear or dread with them, but not one of love and compassion.

When the present year commenced a part of the church at least felt that they must awake to duty and fidelity in the cause of Christ. Being prevented on New Years day on account of some national business from assembling for a religious purpose, a meeting was appointed in the eve. It was a solemn season, the Spirit of the Lord seemed to be there

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operating upon the hearts of the children of God, leading them to a sense of sin for past unfaithfulness &c. & to the importance of beginning the year with God.

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The Sabbath and day school went on successfully during the year, and at the commencement of the present year another was commenced in a distant part of the Settlement with encouraging prospects.

A greater amount of bread-stuff was raised in the nation last year than has been in any previous year since removing to this place and provided they are permitted to remain here unmolested in a few years they will be able to supply themselves with all of the necessities and many of the comforts of life.

The proposition which was made about two years ago, to sell and remove West of the Mississippi was rejected on account of their not being pleased with the region after it had been explored to which it was proposed to remove them. Still it is by no means certain that they will remain here in quiet for any length of time. But in the grave the poor Indian race will soon find a permanent resting place, and ere then my hope and ardent desire is that a precious remnant may experience the new birth that then they may be gathered to the Rest which remains for the people of God.

I will conclude this by respectfully soliciting an interest in your prayers, and those of your venerable Society, that God would pour His Spirit from on high upon both Missionaries and people here, so long the object of their kind & christian beneficence and that very many precious souls may be gathered from amongst this people into the garner of heaven.

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh &c.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society made May 8th 1839."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1840.

Stockbridge near Green Bay W. T . June 1840.

*To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge
Edinburgh, Scot.*

Dear Sir —Since my last annual communication important changes have taken place in this Nation of Indns. which seem to promise a better state of things than has existed for three or four years previously. In Sept. last a treaty was concluded with the tribe in wh[ich] it ceded to the United States one half of their Reservation consisting of upwards of 23 thous d acres of land.¹ This enabled the Nation to

¹ See *ante*, p. 161, *note*.— Ed.

167 make provision for extinguishing the claims of a disaffected and troublesome party to their lands and improvements, and thus enable it to remove to the State of Missouri. In a few weeks afterwards it left, consisting in all of about 70 souls and this has restored in a measure peace and tranquility to those who remain. I now cherish the fond hope that these will be permitted to remain [in] undisturbed quiet for a length of years, and enjoy the blessings of civilisation & t[he] gospel of wh[ich] as a general thing they appear anxious to avail themselves. There has been much less drinking and carousing the year past than there has been in any previous year since they removed to this place; and habits of sobriety and industry appear to be gaining strength. Their crops came in well last year and a sufficient quantity of breadstuff for their consumption was raised in the tribe.

During the past year death has been summoning to the Judgment-seat both the prepared & unprepared. Of the latter there have been two striking instances. The first was a female who united with the church about 12 years ago, appeared to run well for a number of years but afterwards fell away was excommunicated and lived a profligate life until arrested by sickness last Summer which in a few months terminated her wretched life here on earth.

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Her aged father died a few days ago in the triumphs of faith, of whom I will give some account.

The other was a man who was excommunicated about 3 years ago for intemperance and other sins. He lived in this manner becoming worse and worse until about the middle of February when one evening he entered the dwelling of a member of the church who lived alone and murdered him in cold blood for the sake of robbing him which he did and then made his escape, but was pursued and brought back, tried by the Nation, condemned and executed in March. This was the first execution which ever took place in the Nation, and the whole transaction was conducted in a most deliberate and decided manner, and the effect will unquestionably be highly salutary upon the people.

Four female members of the church who were connected with the party which left last fall went with it. One of them has died since she reached their place of destination. She was the widow of the former Sachem Capt. Hendrick and was the oldest member of the church and had been a professor of religion upwards of 50 years probably longer than any one now living alive in it and during all of this time gave decided evidence of being indeed a follower of Jesus Christ.

Four also have been excommunicated for various offences, and five are now under censure.

Four of the members which remain have, during the past year, been called away we hope from the church militant to the church triumphant. The first was an aged man James Hunt the father of the family which I mentioned in my last communication, and of whose grandson Cosen Scott I gave a short account. He had been ill only a short time but had the presentiment that he should not recover. The night in which he died he attended family prayers with the family before they retired and conversed with them. Before morning he

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was taken suddenly vomiting blood which soon terminated his life. About half an hour before his death, conscious that his end had come he looked up at his daughter and said, with a smile, "Now I am going home."

The second was murdered, the third was a young married man, and the fourth Bartholomew S. Calvin whom I mentioned in my journal forwarded to your Venerable Society May 1831. It is perhaps sufficient to say that he held out firm to the last, and gave most satisfactory evidence of being a child of God. He devoted much time so long as he was able to reading, but his Bible and Hymn Book were his most constant companions, and in conversation showed that he was familiar with them. He possessed naturally a strong mind and a retentive memory, and so long as strength held out was a constant attendant upon public worship and other religious meetings; and in the house of 169 God seemed to receive with great "meekness the ingrafted word."

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Three have been added to the church the year past by "profession of faith, eight children baptised and two adults on profession. The number of forty-two now in regular standing. Two or three indulge the hope of having experienced religion the past winter, and one of them is a daughter of the venerable old man whose decease I last mentioned.

Religious meetings have usually during the year past been well attended, especially on the Sabbath, and often a deep and solemn feeling has pervaded the whole congregation. The Sab. School has been regularly attended, at which many of the adults are present and taught also. There have been two day-schools taught for the greater part of the time and during the winter they were taught by two of their young men who had been attending a Seminary in a distant state. One is still instructing and the other has returned with the view of qualifying himself to, preach the gospel. The cause of education appears to be slowly yet gradually gaining ground.

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Whilst many of our fond hopes of individuals like vernal blossoms are blighted, and our hearts pained at seeing some make ship-wreck of faith and others unable to stand when temptation or trials come, yet blessed be God this is not the case with all. We are permitted to witness some precious fruits of our labors.

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May the best of heavens' blessings rest upon your venerable and beloved Society which has so long and faithfully labored for the salvation of the heathen, and those that are perishing for lack of vision.

Assure it, Dear Sir, of the gratitude which is felt for the kind support which it affords to such in a foreign field whom they will never see in the flesh; and altho' it is not permitted to hear of all that good accomplished by our labors which it might fondly anticipate, yet some of these sons 170 of the forest from year to year are, as we trust, gathered into the garner of heaven and a goodly number of others still give pleasing evidence in their lives that they are followers of those who "thro' faith and patience have inherited the promises."

Yours very truly, Cutting Marsh Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society June 1, 1840."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1841.

Stockbridge near Green Bay Wis. Ter . June 1841.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Soc. for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scot.

Dear Sir .—Through the goodness of a gracious providence I am permitted to make another annual report to your venerable Society. I have most abundant occasion for gratitude and to bless the great Head of the Church for sparing my own life & that of my

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family and granting to us uninterrupted health during another year. It has been a time of unusual health also amongst these Indians, there having been only four deaths since I made my last report in June of last year. Two of this number were members of the Church. One an aged female and the other was one of the head men of the Nation, nearly 60 years of age. He was sick but for a few days and had a presentiment from the first that he should not recover, still he looked upon death with great composure, and when I announced to him, that his disease was of such a character as to threaten dissolution and exhorted him to set his house in order he was not at all disturbed, but received the intelligence as something which he was rather expecting.

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During the latter part of last year we had some severe trials with members who walked disorderly, but all have 171 been reclaimed as we hope thro' the abounding grace of God with one exception. So that we have trials with our mercies to make us feel the more sensibly that "this is not our rest." Towards the close of the year while we were endeavoring to purify the church by disciplining such as did not walk according to the gospel God appeared evidently to be drawing near in mercy. Religious meetings, particularly on the Sabbath, became more interesting and solemn, and some as the year closed were evidently inquiring to know what they should do to be saved. Upon the first day of the New Year some ministering brethren arrived on their way to Green Bay about 40 miles distant to install a minister over the Presbyterian Church in that place. Their labors as they passed and returned were both opportune and profitable. One of them on his return stopped and a protracted meeting was held which continued ten days. These were days in which the most High appeared to manifest his power in saving souls in a wonderful manner.

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Frequent prayer meetings and personal conversation were interspersed from day to day. In the mean time whilst the Holy Spirit wrought powerfully upon some minds, and convictions were deep and pungent there was little noise, an occasional out-burst of sorrow, but generally the most profound silence prevailed, such as reigns when God appears in very deed to be in the midst. Some cases were peculiarly interesting. Amongst these was an aged couple near 60 years of age. The man is a Delaware by nation, and spent his life in gross sins. When I first came amongst this people he was universalist, still he only made use of that doctrine as a quietus to his conscience whilst going in sin. Both had been accustomed to do evil until they had grown grey in sin, and were rapidly descending to the grave in all of the guilt of a long life spent in sin. Eternal ruin seemed almost inevitable when God during this meeting in his sovereign mercy was pleased to awaken them. And behold the glorious change. From old and hardened sinners they now appear to have the temper and teachableness of little children, the christian company and conversation which they formerly shunned and dreaded is now solicited and most highly prized, and the Bible & Hymn Book and Baxters works take the place of all other books. Old things are passed away behold all things have become new. And to God be all the glory.

Another case of a very remarkable character was a man past middle age and who had been one of the most vicious and drunken there was in the Nation. Pie was so far gone that there appeared to be no hope to human appearance of his being reclaimed &c. But during the meeting he was powerfully wrought upon and seemed to be completely broken down. I could think of nothing but of the man out of whom the "legion" had been cast "sitting at the feet of Jesus, Clothed and in his right mind." "What hath God wrought."

There was one class however in the Nation which was wholly passed by in this outpouring of the Spirit.

There are a few of the young people who in spite of all the remonstrances and counsel of their friends continue to drink & frolic and not one of this number was hopefully converted

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which had been known to be thus engaged during the previous part of the winter altho some were in a measure awakened—God is evidently making a difference in the righteous dispensations of his grace as well as his providence betwixt those who abstain from all intoxicating drinks and those who will not. This fact forced itself upon my notice in looking over after the meeting had closed to see who had been taken in the judgment of charity and who left. Among the number hopefully converted were four heads of families, in all of which the family altar has been set up.

After the meeting closed the state of feeling still continued to be interesting and there appeared to be no falling off in attendance upon the stated means of grace. For those who indulged hopes a weekly meeting was appointed for prayer and to give them religious instruction, these meetings have been for the most part interesting and profitable. 173 How many of them will endure unto the end we know not but we hope a precious number will at last be brought unto Mount Zion as the fruits of the revival.

At the season of communion in February four were admitted to the Church upon a profession of faith and one restored who had been excommunicated. One of this number was a white man but all the rest belonged to the Nation. One of the latter, a Munsee by nation was an idolater when he came here in 1837. He was then in possession of an idol which was more than a hundred years old, and had been a family idol for four generations. Above 30 years ago his mother gave it to him before her death and he continued to worship it until a few years ago when he heard about Jesus Christ still he kept it until the fall of 1838 when he came and gave it to me and said that I might do what I had a mind to with it, but now says he “I wish to give all up and follow Jesus Christ.” They called the shameful thing “mother” and every fall at a certain time made a feast and danced around it in honor of it. It was an object of fear and dread but not of love and veneration.¹

¹ See *ante*, p. 164.— Ed.

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As yet there has been no re-action and religious meetings are well attended and peace and harmony prevails amongst the people. The whole number of the Church is 49 and six individuals are under censure.

The people appear to be prospering in their secular affairs, and industry and habits of Temperance are gaining ground. I have not known a case of intoxication during the past year except amongst the young people before alluded to.

The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year and there has been a very punctual attendance, and many of the adults also attend. The day-schools have languished for want of suitable teachers.

The Monthly Concert for prayer is regularly attended and there is also a weekly Church-Meeting, a weekly female 174 prayer-meeting; and a Maternal Association which meets once in three weeks to pray for the conversion of the children. There is a Female Cent Society, every member of which gives one cent per month for the spread of the gospel, which excites considerable interest. Something is done besides by individuals to aid the cause of benevolence.

There was an interesting revival of religion amongst the Brotherton Indians on a Reservation South of this test winter, under the labors of the Methodists and some fifty or more indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life.

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for June 1st 1841."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1842.

Stockbridge Near Green Day Wis. Ter . June 1842.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh Scotland.

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Dear Sir —Another short year has passed since I made my last annual report. Few indeed have been the changes which we have been called to experience; still thro' the goodness and mercy of our gracious and covenant keeping God, we have enjoyed very many and precious mercies.

In mercy God has spared my own life and health and that of my family to labor another year upon Missionary ground in behalf of your Venerable Society. With each succeeding year time appears to be rapidly growing shorter, whilst the knell of departed years seems to say that ere long my labors in the Masters' vineyard must close whether well & faithfully done or not.

The trials and responsibilities of a Missionary sometimes seem greater and greater, still I cannot find it in my heart to shrink from them so long as I have the blessed promise “Lo, I am with you always,” to rest upon, and so long as I can feel that the cause of Missions is His who has “the 175 Keys of hell and of death” and sways the sceptre of universal dominion.

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Whilst it has been a time of prosperity and peace generally during the past year, still we have had trials larly towards the close of it. Some of them are unquestionably inseparable from the Indian state growing out of the frequent Treaties for the purchase of land and the oftentimes gross neglect on the part of the officers of the general government to carry into effect promptly treaty stipulations. Often these are not only neglected but violated, which perplexes the Indian, and destroys his confidence in the white man; which appears to render them less susceptible of being benefited by the instructions of Missionaries. This is and has been the case with this tribe, for a treaty made almost three years ago in which a portion of their Reservation was ceded to the United States¹ has not been carried into effect according to its provisions. This has been a great injury to them and a source of great perplexity and is so still. How long they may be kept in this state is impossible to tell.

1 See *ante*, p. 161, note.— Ed.

Another trial and difficulty is the division of feeling which exists amongst themselves relating to becoming citisens. At present they make and execute their own laws, and are not amenable to the laws of the U.S. Their govt. is republican in form; but owing to their ignorance upon the subject of legislation, and more especially want of energy, in most cases as to the executive part, it succeeds poorly. Some see and feel this and have become weary of such a state and choose rather to become citisens; others are still tenacious of the Indian state. There is nearly an equal division in the Nation upon this subject. The Brothorton Indians living upon a Reservation South of this became citisens some two or three years since and the experiment has succeeded well. This is seen by the Stockbridges and exerts an influence in favor of citizen-ship. This appears to be the only alternative at least for all the remnants 176 of tribes within the limits of the United States. The rapid increase of population within them, together with foreign immigration to their shores, is yearly sending an irresistable tide of emigrants upon their frontiers. The vicinity of the whites to the red man is reciprocally injurious and unpleasant. The Indian wishes to be alone as much as possible in the earth; and by proximity to the white man whilst he (the Indian) is in a pagan state is exceedingly injurious for he readily imbibes all of the vices of the whites but none of their virtues; besides the white men covet the Indians' unoccupied land, which excites his jealousy. On the other hand the whites dislike the habits of the natives and wish them removed. This will lead to Treaties and removals until the poor natives will be eventually utterly extinguished from the face of the earth, unless they will avail themselves of the privileges and blessings of civilisation and the gospel and become a component part of the American nation. Another painful consideration relating to the Natives in their independent state, is their ignorance and want of judgement in managing pecuniary matters. An Indian has no correct idea of the value of money, and if he has it whether much or little he cannot rest until it is spent, and often as any way for that which he does not need. The annuities which many of the tribes receive do vastly more injury than good.

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The tendency is to destroy individual effort to obtain a livelihood whether by hunting or from cultivating the ground, and to depend upon them for a subsistence by credits from the Traders. This state of things is fast producing a state of dependence upon such scanty means and extreme idleness in respect to their habits.

For the Natives have no disposition to labor until (dire) necessity drives them to it. Besides in the distribution of monies so received there is often great partiality which gives rise to endless difficulties and jealousies. In giving you this account of Indian relations I have two objects in view, viz. to let you see something of the existing state of the Indian tribes in this country, and that they 177 cannot long exist thus without becoming extinct; and the other is to let you see some of the obstacles the Missionary to the Indians has to surmount, and which are constantly thrown in his way whenever he attempts to ameliorate their condition and put them in possession of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ. To some extent all of the obstacles herein enumerated exist amongst in this tribe though not half as great here as amongst most others.

My hope and ardent prayer is, that a remnant of the poor natives may be saved thro' the abounding grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amongst this Tribe there are a goodly number who appear to give satisfactory evidence that the gospel has exerted a saving effect upon their hearts and are bound Zion-ward, whilst others turn a deaf ear and are rushing down to perdition. There are fifty five members in regular standing in the Church, and seven under censure. There have been no cases of excommunication during the past year, whilst some who when my last report was made were under censure have been restored. One member only, an aged female, has died during this time.

Since last June (1841) there have been twenty-three baptisms, six of them were adults, and were baptised on profession of faith and thirteen added to the Church. The old Delaware and his wife mentioned at that time continue to give increasing, as well as most pleasing evidence of being new creatures in Christ Jesus.

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The cause of Temperance still holds on its way and exerts a salutary influence upon the health, morals and habits of the Nation. There are few in it but what are brought under its healthful influence, and these few still persist in the use of ardent spirits whenever they can be obtained.

All of the children and many of the adults are from Sabbath to Sabbath gathered into the Sabbath School. Meetings on the Sabbath are well attended, & solemn and serious attention paid to the preaching of the word. Something is done to aid benevolent objects. About two months 13 178 ago an auxiliary Bible Society was formed and a liberal subscription made to aid the Am. Bible Society.

Early in the Spring there was a revival of religion amongst the Brotherton Indians under the Methodists and many indulged hopes of having passed from death unto life. There were also an awakening amongst a portion of the Oneida Tribe residing in the vicinity of Green Bay about the same time, belonging to the same denomination.

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Soliciting remembrance in your prayers and the prayers also [of] your Venerable Society I subscribe

Myself yours in the bonds of Christian Affection

Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Society Prop. Chris. Knowl. June 1st 1842."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1843.

Stockbridge Near Green Bay Wis. Ter . June 1843.

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To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh. Scotland.

Dear Sir —Through the goodness and mercy of God in preserving my life and health during another year I am again permitted to address you. The past year has been one remarkable for health amongst this people, though not of spiritual health and prosperity. Scarcely any year since my residence amongst them has been so uninteresting as it regards religion. Political strifes and contentions amongst them, and to which I alluded in my last report has had a most disastrous effect upon the members of the Church generally, and produced very great distraction of mind and alienation of feeling. The subject of citizen-ship has been pushed by those in favor of it, and the leaders in this business are generally persons destitute of moral principle, and their acts have consequently been characterised by a spirit of recklessness and injustice which has disgusted and served to drive still farther off such as are in 179 favor of remaining in the Indian state; and at present it seems likely to break up the Nation.

The Citizen party succeeded in getting an act passed by Congress at its last session, for the division of their land and permission to become citizens, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Indian party. The latter appears by a census lately made out to be the most numerous. Such has been the course pursued by their opponents and the treatment which they (that is the Indian party) have received from them, that they have unanimously resolved to sell out and remove to the state of Missouri West of the Mississippi river. Application has already been made to the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Territory to this effect and they are expecting an answer soon. The whole number of the Nation is only a little over two hundred, so that if the Indian Party leaves as they now intend to there will be but between eighty and ninety left. There is a majority of the best and most intelligent portion of the Nation as well as a majority in numbers belonging to the Indian party. Of those belonging to the citizen party fifteen are members of the Church, and some of them are its most substantial and useful members

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too. The division therefore is the more to be regretted, because amongst brethren of the household of faith as I had fondly hoped & do still. The consequences of this step to become citisens I can even now perceive will prove the ruin of at least some if not of many for both worlds. Hitherto the Nation has strictly prohibited by its laws the introduction of ardent spirits amongst them, and have succeeded to a great extent; but since the Act of Congress has passed, they begin to be introduced again, and some of the leaders in the citisen party, as well as others are returning to their old courses, "like the Sow that was washed to Ret[urn] wallowing in the mire." Such is the propensity of Indians for strong drink that when exposed to the Temptation, few have the moral courage to resist it. Much of this is to be attributed to the strength of previous habit, but still more I imagine to the extreme indolence of the native character, 180 which is one of the last things he overcomes after [being] brought under the influence of the gospel, and to the weakness or rather want of principle which makes them an easy prey to any vice.

Provided the Indian party succeed in selling and remove to the State of Missouri it will be quite as much exposed to temptation of this kind as those who remain behind; in addition to this in that state they will be far more exposed than they are here to pagan influence which will exert a deliterious effect. So that it is difficult to determine, under existing circumstances which will finally prove the most injurious citisen-ship or removal and remaining in the Indian state. Were all united in becoming citisens; and provided they were determined to cast off as speedily as possible every relic of paganism and avail themselves of the gospel, this measure would unquestionably be the best and wisest which could be adopted. Because difficulties, divisions and jealousies, growing out of their land and annuities, being a common stock are inseparable from the Indian state. In addition to all of these things there is oftentimes a faithlessness, and want of a spirit of strict Justice on the part of government officers in fulfilling Treaty-stipulations which destroys the confidence of Indians in white men and is a source of a vast amount of disquietude and difficulty amongst themselves. As for example the treaty which this Nation made in 1839 with the general govt. and which was duly ratified by congress, was grossly

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violated by Govt. officers and the Money was paid over in such a way after a tedious delay of between 2 & 3 years, that with the exception of what was appropriated for a school-fund, it is questionable whether more evil or good will result from any payment ever being made. These things have a most important bearing upon the influence of the Missionaries amongst them, for it keeps their minds in a state of turmoil and suspense most unfavorable to any improvement.

This, Sir, has been my painful situation during the whole of the last year. Still I believe that the Great Head of 181 the Church has those here whom he loves, and is thus purifying and preparing by his grace for "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled & that fadeth not away."

There have been no additions to nor deaths in the Church, since my last report. One has been excommunicated from it, and six are under censure. Two have been restored who were under censure last year, and one has been dismissed to united with another Church, which leaves fifty three in regular standing.

Meetings on the Sabbath have generally been well attended, at times a deep and solemn feeling has appeared to pervade the audience, and some of our social meetings have been very interesting.

The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year, and a considerable of a portion of the adults and young people are present to listen & gain instruction from the lesson. This is one of the most interesting and I trust profitable exercises which I have as it affords an opportunity of explaining divine truth more familiarly, and consequently more intelligibly, than I can possibly in any other way. Whilst the inquiries which the lessons often elicit awakens and fixes the attention and impressions are thereby made which could not be by any formal explanation. Much interest is also manifested on the part of the children in reading the Books belonging to the S.S. Library.

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A greater part of the members of the Temperance Society have remained stedfast, and this has a very manifest influence upon the health as well as the morals of the people. Since the Temperance Society was formed which was at the commencement of my labors amongst them it has, by the blessing of God upon its efforts, been the means of diminishing the amount of sickness & the number of deaths more than one half. In reviewing the past history of the cause of Temperance in this Nation it is most manifest to all that the positive evils which it has been the means of preventing have been very great, whilst the good which it has done in promoting order, sobriety, and peace in families and amongst the people generally has been rather like 182 the Summers' dew and showers upon the face of the earth. But more than this some who at the commencement of these efforts were apparently confirmed drunkards are now in the Judgement of charity the humble followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. To His adorable name be all the glory.

An interest is manifested in the cause of benevolence. There is a Female Cent Society which has been in existence between two and three years, and numbers 25 members. Each member contributes one cent a week, and the avails are devoted to the cause of Foreign Missions. A Bible Society was formed last year aux[iiliary] to the Am[erican] Bib[le] Society, a large number joined it, and subscribed liberally. Some have paid but others owing to their pecuniary enbarrassments occasioned by the difficulties to which I have refered in this communication have been prevented. But it is highly gratifying to witness the interest which many have manifested in the circulation of the holy Scriptures; and the cheerfulness with which they contributed out of their deep poverty.

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The payment under the treaty of 1839 and to which I refeted in my last report, has at length been made. The Treaty was grossly violated by govt officers, and the payment was delayed so long and made in such a way, that with the exception of a school-fund which was reserved, it is questionable whether more evil or good will result from any payment ever having been made. And the Nation have not as yet realised any benefit from their

school-fund which has occasioned an almost entire suspension of their schools for the want of means to carry them on, as another consequence of not carrying the treaty into effect according to its stipulations. And all of these together have had an exceedingly injurious effect upon their temporal & spiritual interests.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1st 1843."

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SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1844.

To John Tawse Esqr Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh Scotland .

Dear Sir —At the close of another brief year since making my last Report to your Venerable Society I am once more permitted to address you. I have abundant occasion to make mention of the loving-kindness & tender mercy of God towards me during this time, in that He has spared my life and health to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ to these poor, distracted Indians.

The state of things both as it regards their civil & religious affairs seem of the two to grow more & more deplorable, and another separation is apparently inevitable. The causes of these troubles I mentioned in my last Report, and need not be repeated.

It is now fourteen years since I first arrived amongst this people to labor as a Missionary. Few & short in the retrospect do these years appear, & yet they constitute much of the best portion of the vigor of my life. In reviewing these past years I see very much on account of which I desire to be deeply humbled before God in the deficiencies of my public as well as private labors as an ambassador of Jesus Christ, as well as duties neglected to my own soul, which leads me to exclaim as did Paul I am less than the least of all saints in point of faithfulness in the Makers' cause.

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At the time of my arrival the Church consisted of thirty nine members. Since then (1830) 68 have been added to the church. 25 have died in regular standing in the Church — 7 excommunicated & lapsed members have died without being restored. 2 excommunicated members have been restored. 12 have been excommunicated. 8 have left the place and gone to a distant part of the country without being dismissed. 5 are now under censure and 50 now remain in regular standing. One aged member of the church, a female has died since I made my last Report; and she was one of the most exemplary members in the Church.

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82 children have been baptised, and a considerable larger number than this belonging to the tribe of the young & old have died; altho' the baptised children have not corn. posed near all of the births during this period. The whole number of souls belonging to the nation is about 200. A Temperance Society was formed in a few days after my arrival which has held on its way until the present and since 1834 has been upon the tee-total plan. Perhaps upon few communities has the cause of Temperance had a more salutary and manifest effect than upon this. Altho' many have violated their pledge still a large majority of those who took the pledge have kept it sacredly, and these have reaped the precious fruits of Temperance, and have been a great check upon those who would use intoxicating drinks. During this time habits of Temperance have been formed wh[ich] t[he] greater part without doubt will preserve thro' life.

From the length of time I have been permitted to reside amongst the Natives it is natural to suppose that I should have learnt many things respecting their character.

During part of my residence amongst these Indians I have been called to pass thro' many & sore trials in consequence of their political strifes &c. in which I have learned many things which never could have been had it been otherwise. I now remark no person can fully understand the native character without long & painful experience.

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My first impressions were erroneous. I feel it to be my duty now to say to your venerable Society, that at first and for years I formed an estimate of their character far too favorable, and consequently I fear that my reports have made a too favorable impression upon the minds of it. These wrong impressions have not been made intentionally; but it was my want of experience, & the absence of events which would bring out their hearts. I fear that this impression has been made, that almost every vestige of paganism has been eradicated by the gospel inasmuch as this tribe has had it about 110 years and some three generations have passed and the fourth is now on the stage. Fidelity 185 leads me now to say, altho' many perhaps may be sadly disappointed, that many traces of paganism still remain in those who have united with the Church. Previously I had supposed many of my trials peculiar, and had attributed them to other causes until of late. I was surprised to find so many of my own trials with church members here, enumerated by the Missionaries of the American Board &c upon the Island of Ceylon as contained in their general letter which was published in the Missionary Herald for April of the present year (1844). The events which have transpired within a very few of the last years I have been here, particularly the two past, have led me to the conclusion that heathenism and paganism are essentially the same—There are to be sure modifications owing to different circumstances, but the blighting, hardening and contaminating effects of the former appear to me to be no greater than the latter.

These brethren upon the Island of Ceylon appear to expect that a great part of their trials with Church Members will be confined to this generation, and that the next will be a very different one, but I hesitate not to say that unquestionably for generations the taint of the heathen stock from whence they originated will appear for thus it is with this Church.

Even now in the third and fourth generation which has risen up since the first introduction of the gospel amongst these Indians, fickleness, want of integrity of character, want of principle, want of love of truth, aversion to mental effort, and an unconquerable one to restraint are amongst my severest trials. Often cases will occur which lead me almost to

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exclaim as did the Psalmist when in his haste he said, “all men are liars.” Another trials is the impossibility of keeping unworthy members out of the church. The practice of admitting all that offer themselves as is the case with some around me (not presbyterians) is fraught with most disastrous consequences. I have made credible evidence of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ an indispensable requisite of admission to Church membership 186 Besides putting such upon trial as offered themselves for 3 or 6 months during which time they were more thoroughly instructed in the doctrines & duties of our holy religion. Still cases often occur which show that the real character was mistaken besides as trials increase my fears increase that I may have been mistaken with regard to more.

After the most solemn professions have been made, & all possible pains taken to instruct individuals as to the nature & importance of Christian duties &c. and after they have given apparently a hearty assent to them all, it is most painful to witness their total disregard of them all if not contempt when a time of trial comes. All of these restraints and vows which they have voluntarily taken upon themselves then appear as powerless as cords of sand. The Missionary who will “sew pillows to all arm-holes” and never reprove is sure to please —It is exceedingly painful to see what a repellant effect fidelity often has upon some of whom on the whole better things are hoped, when they have been out of the way.

Insincerity or self-deception is a striking trait in t[he] native character—So that at length it becomes difficult to avoid a feeling of suspicion towards any who may appear serious or express a determination to seek the salvation of the soul. After the Missionary may have taken great pains to instruct an individual in religion & indulged high hopes of his future usefulness, some untoward event may at length show how utterly destitute of Christian principle he is thus all of his fond anticipations are at once blasted. Even where it must be charitably hoped there is a change of heart gross inconsistencies often appear under trials or temptations, which clearly show that the old man of sin has still a fearful grasp upon them. The remarks of the Missionaries upon the Island of Ceylon when they say, “were we to give the Chapter of our sorest trials with the Native Church the caption should be, *Peter and Judas acting out of Character* —Peter, even Simon Bar Jonas, acting the part of an

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adversary and a traitor in denying his Lord, & Judas Iscariot, who had a devil, acting for years the part 187 of a disciple and apostle of the Lord Jesus," are strikingly appropriate to this Church.

Difficulty of presenting correct views of divine truth.

When "The terror of the Lord" is presented and the necessity of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ urged, perhaps one and another somewhat impressed with the truth will rise in a religious meeting confess that he has been a great sinner &c and then conclude by saying "Now I have made up my mind to *try* ." From time to time he will continue to speak sometimes with much apparent feeling in the same strain, and by and by if he does not meet with anything which will bring out the real state of his heart he will indulge the hope that he is a christian. But when temptation or tribulation comes on account of the word alas! it appears in almost every such case that the seed fell upon stony places where it had not earth; and so withered under the scorching influence of temptation in other cases the result will be different inducing a state of complete Phariseeism.

Want of moral courage is another thing which at times is exceedingly trying. The natives in an uncivilised state are proverbially cowards. This leads them to attack their enemies in the dark or in an ambush. They dare not face an enemy in the open field. This trait of character adheres to the Indian even after he has hopefully embraced the christian religion. This has ever rendered discipline in the Church extremely difficult. The Indian will speak of a brothers' faults behind his back but to go to him, and in the spirit of meekness seek to convince him of his sin and bring him to repentance is a most difficult task to get him to perform. And during the past year I have found it impossible to prevail upon the members to do it.

Indolence.

To a civilised man the idea of a hardy, robust appearing race of people capable of enduring hardships and privations of some kinds which would break down a white man,

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amidst almost every natural advantage for obtaining a livelihood, 188 and upon a soil highly luxuriant capable with cultivation of producing every necessary of life as well as its comforts in great abundance, being pinched with extreme poverty, and both themselves and children not half clad, & perhaps such as they have on is all in rags, this I say appears strange in the extreme; but such is the fact with all uncivilised Indians. The sole cause of all this poverty & suffering is their vices and indolence. And when they have been in a measure brought under the influence of the gospel the latter seems to adhere to them like the leprosy.

The importance of industry is constantly kept before the mind both as to the virtue & necessity of it, but when this chord is touched it is so slack it seems impossible to produce a vibration—The same indolent disposition which rules in a great majority of cases with regard to manual, rules with regard to mental labor. And hence the instruction of their children is sadly neglected. And it seems impossible to make them feel the importance of education. It is not difficult to get them to acknowledge it but the energy necessary to obtain it is wanting. There is a want of providence and common sense in the management of their civil & domestic affairs which is the cause of most of their troubles & distresses. The trials which the Revd David Brainerd experienced amongst the Indians one hundred years ago are trials of the Missionary at the present day. In his Memoirs¹ I can testify after fourteen years of experience is to be found a most just delineation of the Indian character. At one time he says “while they retain their Pagan tempers they discover little gratitude amid all the kindnesses which they receive,” (p. 259) I should rejoice if this remark was applicable to those only who are in “Pagan” darkness, it is I regret to say of too general application even after the gospel has shone upon them for a century and they have professed it. I would mention here not for the sake of bringing myself into notice but for the sake of delineating what I conceive to be the native character; that two of the bitterest enemies I have had

¹ See *ante*, p. 69, *note*.— Ed.

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189 amongst this people, and the hatred of one was of a deadly kind, were two individuals whose lives under God I had been instrumental in saving; the one had a fractured skull and the other a dangerous disease. By night and by day I watched over both, until out of danger, but the only reward I ever obtained of the latter was deadly hatred, and he refused to make any compensation. Not long after he became so hostile he committed a crime the forfeit of which he paid with his life upon the gallows. Still in justice I do add it is not so with all. All are not thus ungrateful, nor are all equally indolent and improvident. Some feel the force of argument and divine truth and labor to shake off these relics of paganism and of the old man of sin. Let me not be understood as saying that all the members of this Church are the source of as many trials as some. Not so. For some appear to live truly exemplary lives, and aim to be such as the Word of God requires in the business of life and to maintain a conscience void of offence toward God and men.

Past events teach me that I must rejoice with trembling over all until they bid earth adieu, having in life and till its latest hour given comfortable evidence of a saving change and then when death comes (they) appear to be supported and comforted with the Christian hope. In this manner I have had the joy to see some of the little flock, over which the Holy Spirit has made me overseer, end their days. To Him be all the glory who loved & died for their redemption.

I will here give the reasons why I have written in this strain to your venerable Society after making so little mention of such things heretofore.—The peculiar trials which this Church has been called in the providence of God to pass thro' of late has more clearly developed the native character than I had ever seen it before—I write under the apprehension that this Nation as such will soon be finally broken up. “Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation” And perhaps something of what I write may meet the eye of some future Missionary after 190 I have slept as long as David Brainerd has beneath the clods of the valley—And it may be of some use to him to know what in my days were the trials of the Missionary to the Aborigines.

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I hope none will be discouraged by such unpleasant details from efforts to save lost men. The faith of the friends of Missions needs trying as well as the faith of the Missionary.

* * * * *

With regard to the difficulties of this tribe it is probable that some arrangement will be made this Summer with the Indian Party. It has sent a delegation to Washington to see if Congress will afford them aid or purchase their proportion of the Reservation and provide them with the means to remove to the State of Missouri. Most ardently it is to be desired that something may be fixed upon soon for whilst in this state of suspense everything so far as doing good is concerned is stationary.

Customs.

This people still remember some of the traditions handed down from their fathers although most of them have been forgotten.

Marriage.

When a young man wanted to take a wife, his parents, usually his mother, would go round to all of his friends, and each in favor of the match would make some present. When this was done the whole was collected & carried to the intended bride; if she accepted of the presents the match was considered as made, but if not that was the end of it. But if the presents were accepted which was usually the case, her friends took, and disposed of them and with the avails made a wedding feast, then all who had made any present was considered as invited guests without further ceremony. These were seasons of great mirth and festivity and often lasted many days. It was not until after I came that the custom was totally abandoned of parents making the match for their sons and daughters and then compelling the latter to comply with their wishes whether it was agreeable or not.

The place from whence they originally came.

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The old people used to tell us say they that we came from a great distance to the Northwest, where there was Islands and it was only a little ways betwixt them, and so they made a bridge across with oyster-shells—That it was a place where the tide flowed and they kept journeying to the South East until they came to Hudsons River below Albany in the state of New-York. Here they found a tide again and were glad because they thought they had got home. From this place they removed to Massachusetts.

They say that once they were a powerful and warlike nation and carried on a war with the Cherokee Nation. A small band would go out at a time, and be gone many months, take a few scalps and then set out to return, and perhaps on their way would meet another band going out for the same purpose. The reason why they carried on this war was the Cherokees used to be very war-like and strike all of the Nations around.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1841."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1845.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland.

Dear Sir —Through the goodness and mercy of God I am spared to address your Venerable Society again. Few have been the changes of the past year. It has been characterised by no great or striking events but the agitated state of feeling, which had existed for two or three years previous has been gradually subsiding, and a more peaceful, contented state succeeding. In my last Report I 192 mentioned that some arrangement or adjustment of their affairs was anticipated during last Summer (1844) but it passed away & none was made. Another Delegation was sent last winter to the seat of government but with no better success than before. It is now confidently believed by those best calculated situated to judge correctly, that the American Congress will not interfere but suffer the laws to be extended over the whole Tribe without distinction. Hard as this course may

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seem to be I think it preferable to exempting them as heretofore from the influence of the Un. States laws, because they will then need some form of govt. & they are too few & feeble to maintain a govt. of their own, and besides, situated as they would be it would be impossible to carry their laws into effect. To sell out and remove does not appear to me a measure which could at all better their condition. To make up their minds to settle down where they are & be subject to the laws is unquestionably the most judicious course they could pursue. But there is so much alienation of feeling betwixt the two parties that this is little expected, and I am as much at a loss to determine with certainty what course will eventually be pursued as heretofore.

The state of religious feeling in the Church has been somewhat better during the year past than it was the year previous. Religious meetings have generally been well attended and sometimes there has been solemn attention paid to the preaching of the word. Still there has been no special interest manifested in the subject of religion. The Sabbath School in two departments has been kept up regularly during the whole year. In the department for the older children many of the adults attend and often appear much interested. The other department is for the small children who are not old enough to commit regular lessons in the Bible, and they are taught the Ten Commandments and other instruction suited to their age and capacity is imparted.

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The Church.

There are at the present time 51 members in regular standing Five have been restored who were under censure one year ago, having given satisfactory evidence to the Church of penitence for their sins. Three are now under censure. Eight children have been baptised, and two have been admitted to the Church on profession of faith, both heads of families. Two aged members have died. Both in early life and even to old age were very intemperate, having drank until the vital energies were well nigh consumed. But a few brief years before the vital spark was extinguished they were awakened and hopefully

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converted. After that there was a very manifest change in both. One was a Delaware by nation born in the state of New-Jersey and before the [Stockbridge] tribe removed from the state of New-York, he was adopted [by them]. After he came to Green Bay he still drank ardent spirits. Altho' he had little education still he possessed good natural talents & was quick and shrewd to discern the faults of such as professed religion. * * * this state he continued until a series of meetings were held in the winter of 1840. During those meetings he was awakened and came forward to be prayed for with those who were anxious; but did not indulge a hope until some time after the meetings had closed. From the time however that he did indulge a hope he appeared to be a new creature indeed in Christ Jesus—Immediately he commenced family prayers which he kept up as long as he was able to pray with an audible voice. His aged wife was converted about the same time and both altho' decrepit with age appeared like little children.

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The word of God, Pike's Guide to Young Disciples, Life of David Brainerd & Baxters Saints Rest were Books peculiarly dear to him and which he read much as long as he was able to read. As long as he was able he was a constant and apparently a very devout worshiper in the house of 14 194 God. For the last 6 months of his life he was for the most part confined to his bed his disease being consumption, but in such a condition he manifested great patience & submission to the will of God.

* * * * *

During the excitement which prevailed upon the subject of citizenship and disorders which grew out of them I found it impossible to exercise discipline, and therefore suspended seasons of Communion; but during the last winter after a series of meetings upon the subject the Church was again brought together. Although one who had been an officer in it for some years, and of whom we had hoped better things, went off without a dismission, and took his wife to another Church. Since we had regular seasons of Communion, there

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has appeared to be a much better state of feeling betwixt the members, tho' now not what is ardently to be wished. The Day-Schools, which for the same cause have long been interrupted we expect to resume soon. This Nation is now brought to that state in which they must exert themselves, instruct and train up their children in the way in which they should go or else they will be swept away by the temptations with which they will be surrounded as with the besom of destruction. The charity of Christians and the goodness and forbearance of God has sustained this remnant of a once powerful and warlike tribe whilst many other tribes have wasted all away and are now know only in recollection. That they owe their preservation thus far to the conservative influence of the gospel the most intelligent are free and ready to acknowledge. To preserve the Muh-hee-kun-ne-ew (The Indian name of the Nation and means skilled in going over the waves) Church from becoming extinct or mixed with white people and others is doubtless one reason some of the Indian Party so called wish to remain in the former state, and not become citizens. This idea has repeatedly been expressed to me; but to resolve to avail themselves of all of the privileges and blessings of civilisation & the gospel is a far more efficacious means of preservation they are told 195 than removing or trying to keep away from the white people or from adopting their laws and customs. No one acquainted with their circumstances can blame them for wishing to keep distinct from that class of white people and mixture of African blood which usually follow them, for it is a class which but deteriorates the race and is rather a nuisance than otherwise. Those who usually intermarry with them are the lowest and most debased and hardened of the white people, who cannot endure the restraints of good society and so go off and connect themselves with the Natives. The Indians themselves understand this and one very intelligent Stockbridge remarked to me, "That a white man who would marry an Indian Squaw must be a mean fellow." In nine cases out of ten where there is an intermarriage this is literally the case-Hence arises one of the greatest obstacles to be surmounted in elevating and christianising the Natives. Such, base as they are, have great influence; and such is human nature that the man who will drink and smoke Tobacco with them finds an easy access to the great mass and often has a surprising degree of influence. The Stockbridges have from time to time enacted

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severe laws against intermarriages with the whites and Mulattoes, but to no purpose, for many they will in despite of law or remonstrance. A circumstance occurred only a few days since which develops the character of the whites &c. who usually connect themselves with the Indians. Four (or) 5 of them who all had Indian women for wives went to a political caucus in a neighboring Town, and on their return became partially intoxicated, got into a quarrel fell upon, beat and knocked out all of the front teeth of the only sober one there was in the company. Such degrading scenes do but make even the natives who have any self respect despise a white man. It is a great stumbling block to the Indians, and a thing which is frequently mentioned by them, "Why say they is it, if the Bible and the Christian religion is true, that so many of the white people who can read and understand the Bible &c. are so bad, even worse than Indians?" Surrounded 196 by such influences and in the very midst of them, our Native Churches have a terrible ordeal to pass through; and when the fickleness of the native character is taken into consideration it is not to be wondered at that many are snared and led away into forbidden paths, and broken and lost.

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Indorsed: "Returns to the Scotland Soc. for June 1, 1845."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1846.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland .

Dear Sir .—There has been little change in the political prospects of this nation since I made my last report. The Indian party as it styles itself is still determined not to come under the laws of the United States, and are at the present time pressing their petitions before congress for relief, but it is still uncertain whether anything will be done. This state of suspense is highly injurious as it prevents them from attempting to make any improvement where they now are, and they have incurred great expense which they are unable to meet. Whilst it is not to be concealed that the citizen party are not doing any

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better than the other. So that the measure of citizenship however desirable in itself will ultimately have a very disastrous effect upon the interests of the tribe.

There is a deficiency, amongst all of the aborigines in managing their temporal affairs. It consists in a want of judgement or common sense so to direct them as to secure prosperity and save damage and loss from neglect or mismanagement. Whether this deficiency is the result of want of capacity or habit and neglect of early instruction I am [at] a loss to determine.

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As I become more and more acquainted with the native character I am more deeply convinced that my first impressions were erroneous, and that any individual upon 197 a slight acquaintance will form erroneous conclusions. I mean that a person by tong acquaintance sees and feels more deeply the hidden, withering effects of paganism long after its outward forms have seemingly passed away—An intelligent Oneida chief who was also a member of the church said to a Methodist Missionary after he had resided three years in the nation, “I suppose now you think you know something about Indians?” He replied in the affirmative. “No, you dont” said he. “But after you have been amongst them five years you will then begin to know something about them.” (I should extend the time to ten years). A remark wh[ich] every one laboring amongst the Natives finds painfully true.

Every year brings its trials and withal some precious fruits also. So that in the midst of many discouragements we have the satisfaction of knowing that our labor is not in vain in the Lord.

As it respects the state of feeling in the Church it is quite as harmoniously as could be expected from what has been mentioned above. Meetings on the Sabbath and other stated meetings have generally been well attended, and sometimes great seriousness and solemnity has appeared upon the Minds of the audience.

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There are now fifty one members in regular standing in the Church, 23 males and 28 females, and three are under censure. One has been restored who had been suspended for some time. Six children have been baptised, and two aged females have died. It has been a season of much affliction amongst this people for the past 6 or 7 months owing to severe sickness in many cases and an unusual number of deaths, particularly amongst children. The Scarlet fever made its appearance in the fall and forepart of winter, and after that subsided the Whooping Cough commenced, and owing to the changeable, damp and stormy weather was unusually severe.

During the winter at one time whilst Gods hand appeared to be stretched out over the place to smite it there was considerable seriousness, but a difficulty arose relating to 198 the subject of Taxes, and dissipated at once all of the seriousness. One white man however who had married into the Nation was awakened and hopefully converted, & has since united with the Church. A woman belonging to the tribe indulged a hope about the same time. One little girl about 11 years old, who died suddenly with the Scarlet fever, appeared quite changed some weeks previous to her death and before she was taken sick. She referred the change in her feelings to impressions made upon her mind in the Sab. School—had the presentiment that she should not live, and when sick conversed with her mother and urged upon her the necessity of loving the Savior.

The Day School was resumed last sum[mer] (1845) & was taught by a pious young lady and was well attended—In the winter another was taught 3 months by a young man belonging to the tribe and who had recently finished a course of study preparatory to preaching the gospel. Some of the time he had 60 in attendance. It was broken up in the Spring by the prevalence of whoop ling] cough. He gave universal satisfaction. At the same time he assisted me in the labors of the Sabbath, preaching one part of the day and took charge of the Sabbath School. His name is Jeremiah Slingerland.¹ His talents are good and he now affords much promise of usefulness amongst his people should he remain as is probable he will.

¹ See *ante*, p. 31, *note*.— Ed.

I had previously resolved upon having a series of religious meetings during the winter and the way at one time appeared prepared, but severe sickness in my family prevented during a great part of the winter and which, situated as I was, confined me at home almost all of the time night and day—Mrs. M[arsh] was taken very suddenly in the latter part of December and was confined to her bed for a number of weeks and at times her life was despaired of. Her disease at first was pronounced to be pericarditis, and afterwards appeared to be neuralgic. But God had mercy on her, and not only upon her, but upon me also and my 199 children and has raised her up again, altho' her health is poor and she is unable to endure much labor or fatigue either mental or physical. After she began to recover my children were taken with the whooping cough and had it very severely. These providences prevented me from laboring amongst this people as well as in the vicinity as I had purposed after Mr. Slingerland returned. But the Lords' ways are not as ours, and it has been my prayer that these afflictions might work for us the peacable fruits of righteousness—Mrs. M. often remarked that she needed the affliction to humble her on account of her sins, and to lead her to live more for God and the promotion of his glory on the earth. In health she is accustomed to dwell much upon the love of Christ in dying for sinners, but when she had the prospect of soon exchanging worlds before her she would often exclaim, "He is my All," &c. "I am nothing but the righteousness of Christ is all my hope and comfort"—During this time it was pleasing to see how deep an interest the people took particularly the members of the Church in her welfare and recovery. From time to time they held meetings for prayer to ask the Lord to restore her to health if consistent with his will. Thus we found that the Missionaries had a stronger hold upon their affections than we were aware of previously which served to increase our attachment to them.

Whilst we do not witness great things amongst this people from year to year, we are permitted to see precious fruits of Missionary labor amongst them. The Church is kept together, most of the children receive instruction from Sab. to Sab. in the Sab. School,

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and there are those in the church, probably as many as in most churches amongst white people, who give evidence in their lives that they have been born of the Spirit. Every year bears some one or more to the grave and to the judgement who give evidence of having passed from death unto life.

Whilst there are those belonging to the Temp. Society who break their pledge the majority keep it conscientiously, and the Society exerts a very salutary influence over the 200 Nation. There is also a Maternal Association which meets once in 3 weeks and is doing good amongst the Mothers.

The Brothertown Indians are making progress in enlarging their farms which are cleared up from the thick forest. They number about 4 hundred. Schools are regularly taught in the Town during Summer and Winter and habits of sobriety appear to be gradually gaining ground. They have a Methodist Missionary residing amongst them, and a (Methodist) Church has been gathered as the fruit of Missionary labor amongst them, numbering 100 members. The Oneida tribe lives between 30 & 40 miles distant, and there are about 730 in the settlement. They are making progress in clearing up their farms, and in building comfortable houses &c but make little progress if any in moral and intellectual improvement.

The Menominee tribe is still in pagan darkness. This tribe is scattered in bands over quite a large extent of the Ter[ritory].* * * It numbers about 2 thousand.

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Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for 1845–6. May 1, 1846."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1847.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh. Scotland.

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Dear Sir —As the season has returned for making my annual report to your venerable Society, I remark that few years pass with less changes than have taken place the past year amongst this tribe. It has been a year remarkable for health in it although it has been sickly in the Territory.

The political difficulties of which I have made mention in years past are not yet settled and it is impossible to tell how soon they will be. These prove a severe test to the character of some, and perhaps may be the means of their making shipwreck of faith & of a good conscience, still the 201 word of God teaches us to expect that “offences” and trials will come to try and purify and purge the Church for to make manifest such as are approved, whilst such as have only “a name to live” stumble and fall.

* * * * *

But faith almost fails at times, and I feel well nigh sinking down into despondency in view of the many and to human view insurmountable obstacles which at present appear to lie in the way of the future welfare and prosperity of this people. One consequence has been an increase of intemperance, idleness and wrecklessness in some instances though not to a great extent. There is little brotherly love, and little unity of the spirit amongst the professed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. Still “the Lord of hosts is with us the God of Jacob is our refuge.”

The Church numbers about the same that it did last year there having been no additions or deaths during this time.

Meetings on the Sabbath have been well attended and there is serious and solemn attention paid to preaching. Notwithstanding the troubles and animosities existing amongst them, it does not appear to affect their attendance upon public worship. In the house of God the two hostile parties meet on the Sabbath and mingle in the devotions of the sanctuary as though all was as it should be—peace and harmony, and the passing

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stranger would not discover anything by the appearance to the contrary. The sum and substance of their difficulties now are, that the Indian party, so called, is unwilling to become citizens of the United States. This they say would extinguish the Indian state which they wish to preserve. It is indeed remarkable with what tenacity Indians for the most part adhere to this state. Few have sufficient penetration to see that it is an injury and if adhered to will in time extinguish utterly the Aboriginal race as tribes or nations. The work of diminution is going on at the present time amongst all the tribes on the frontiers in the United States.

The only thing which can arrest this work of extinction is the gospel. But this owing to the obstacles which it constantly meets with makes very slow progress. Intemperance, * * * and the influence of unprincipled white[s] living amongst them—or near and intermarrying are the greatest hindrances which the Missionary meets with in doing good to the natives.

The Sabbath School has been fuller the past year particularly during the winter than usual; most of the children take Books from the Library and read them so that moral and religious intelligence is evidently increasing, and as in former years the old people attend the S. School as well as the children.

Last winter there were three day-schools taught in the nation by men and the same number by pious young ladies this Summer, and most of the children attend school punctually. These are daily sowing the good seed in these young minds, as well as instructing them in those branches which improve the mind so that we hope better things of the rising generation, than of those who have preceded them.

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for 1847. June 1st."

SCOTTISH REPORT, FOR 1848.

To John Tawse Esqr. Sec ry Of the Venerable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Edinburgh, Scotland.

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Dear Sir .—Through the tender mercy of God I am once more permitted to make my annual report to your Venerable Society.

The year past has wrought but little change in the religious or political prospects of these Indians. The Indian Party so called still maintains a fixed determination not to become citizens of the United States, and to adhere to the Indian state; and on the other hand the Citizen party are as determined not to return to their former state. This keeps alive that spirit of hostility and bitterness towards each other which has existed for years, and is likely to continue so long as they remain together. All attempts hitherto made to reconcile these parties with each other have proved abortive, and I fear that God in his righteous providence has left them to be divided in this manner against themselves for the purpose of bringing the nation to desolation. So far therefore as their National prospects are concerned all is dark and cheerless.

This state of things has, as might be expected, deeply affected the Church, as its members belong to each of the Conflicting parties, and some are the leaders in them.

It is difficult to conceive how hard it is to influence such minds as these, which have little foresight cannot feel the force of an argument and are led by the present impulse and prejudice.

In different ways quite a number have violated their covenant obligations, and I have found it impossible to exercise discipline in the Church, as some of the offenders are leaders in party measures and they have led others astray.

Notwithstanding these lamentable evils I hope that some good has been done.

The Day-Schools have been kept up during the Summer & Winter season, and generally have been well attended.

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Meetings on the Sabbath are well attended also, & serious attention paid to the preaching of the gospel. The Sabbath School has been kept up during the year and both young and old have attended as in former years. The Books belonging to the S.S. Library have been anxiously sought for by all who have attended, so that general as well [as] religious intelligence is gradually increasing. Among other means of doing good there is a Maternal Association which has been in existence for a number of years. These meetings have been held once in about 3 weeks, and generally well attended. The object of the Association is the same as others of the kind, and this has been a channel through which much valuable instruction has been communicated upon a subject very much neglected amongst this tribe and altogether so amongst pagans besides the 204 time which has been spent in prayer. Four female members of the Church have died during the past year, and one of them was one of the most active and influential members in the Maternal Association as well as in the Church. She united with the Church under the ministry of my predecessor in 1828.

* * * * *

Two of the others who died were aged and lived in sin until old age. One of them lived in pagan darkness until she was with the rest of the family consisting of eight souls removed to Green Bay in 1825. Subsequently the whole became hopefully pious one after another and united with the Church. All are now dead but two and all have died giving evidence in life and in death of being Christians. This old lady was a Munsee by nation and the mother and grand mother of this family and died in the 78th year of her age in peace in the Lord.

Whenever I see native converts leaving the world as either of the abovementioned did giving evidence in life and until death of being Christians I not only rejoice but feel that both the Missionaries & the friends of Missions find an ample reward for all their trials and sacrifices.

* * * * *

Indorsed: "Report to the Scotland Society for June 1, 1848."

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REMINISCENCES OF LIFE IN TERRITORIAL WISCONSIN. BY ELIZABETH THÉRÈSE BAIRD.¹

¹ Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse (Fisher) Baird was born at Prairie du Chien, Wis., April 24, 1810. Her youth was spent upon Mackinac Island, where, in 1824, when but fourteen years of age, she married Henry S. Baird, a young lawyer, and at once accompanied her husband to their new home in Green Bay. Mrs. Baird remained a resident of Green Bay until her death, November 5, 1890. A brief biographical sketch of this remarkable pioneer woman will be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 17, 18, and a portrait facing p. 17 of that volume. In the Green Bay *State Gazette*, between December 4, 1886, and November 19, 1887, Mrs. Baird published her reminiscences in a series of articles. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 17–64, we reproduced, in condensed form, and with annotations, such part of these reminiscences as related to her life upon Mackinac Island and the particulars of her return trip thereto in 1825; herewith, we present the remainder of this very interesting series, condensed at a few points, and otherwise edited in accordance with an agreement between Mrs. Baird and the Editor, the former contributing some information which did not appear in the articles as originally published in the *State Gazette*. See Mrs. Baird's "Indian Customs and Early Recollections," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 303–326.— Ed.

Upon August 12, 1824, I was married at our home on Mackinac Island to Henry S. Baird,² and the following month we left for Green Bay, upon the schooner "Jackson," Capt. John Burnham. She was eight days coming the two hundred miles.

² Baird was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1800, but came with his family to Pennsylvania in 1805. He studied law at Pittsburg and Cleveland, and in 1822 went to Mackinac, where he practiced his profession and taught school. Visiting Green Bay in June, 1824, he was favorably impressed with that then frontier post, and upon returning to the island

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induced his young fiancée, Miss Fisher, to marry him at once and commence life upon the Wisconsin side of Lake Michigan. It is at this point that Mrs. Baird takes up the story. Mr. Baird died at Green Bay, April 30, 1875. A biographical sketch of him will be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 426443.— Ed.

As the vessel entered Fox River, Fort Howard did not present so much the appearance of a fortress as did my beloved Fort Mackinac, for it stood on low ground. It looked 206 strong, but it had a lonely appearance; all that gave it life was the handsome large garden which lay to the north. This, however, was the external appearance. There was life enough about it, no doubt; a military life is always lively.

Gen. Edmund P. Gaines, who had been on a tour of inspection, was on board, hence our vessel cast anchor in front of the fort, from which a salute was fired. There were also on board two ladies, who belonged to the families of some of the military officers. Soon the fort barge, manned by soldiers and an officer in full uniform, came to the vessel, the officer coming aboard. Altogether there was a fine display.

But the detention was not quite agreeable to us, and we were glad to leave our distinguished passenger at the fort, and sail on about a mile up this beautiful river. We cast anchor opposite John Lawe's residence, which was the stopping place for all travelers.¹ We were rowed ashore in the schooner's yawl, as there were then no wharves or docks. The river looked clean and broad. The wild rice, a patch several yards in width growing along its borders, was a novel sight.

¹ Lawe, whose father was an officer in the English army, came to Green Bay in 1797, when but sixteen years old, as assistant to his uncle, Jacob Franks, an English Jew who represented at Green Bay the fur-trade firm of Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., of Montreal. On the outbreak of the War of 1812–15, Franks returned to Montreal, turning over his large business to Lawe. For an estimate of Lawe's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 247–250.— Ed.

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As there were no hotels or even private boarding houses here, all travelers had to depend upon the hospitality of its citizens. A houseless couple, we were invited to dine

John Lawe's House (From Martin and Beaumont's *Old Green Bay* .)

Surgeons' Quarter, Fort Howard (From Martin and Beaumont's *Old Green Bay* .)

207 at the Lawes. All the family (six daughters and two sons) were extremely polite, and for the eldest daughter I formed a strong and lasting friendship.

Judge Lawe was hospitable and generous to a fault. His home was a large one-story building with many additions. The ceilings were low, and the windows so small that when the Indians came peering in, the room would be almost darkened. The house had a sort of dreamy appearance; it stood near the water, with only a path through the grass leading down to the river. All around the house and store stood Indians waiting to trade off their peltries. Mrs. Lawe was one of the best of women, and as she wore the Indian dress, that at once endeared her to me.¹

¹ Mrs. Baird's grandmother was Migisan, the daughter of an Ottawa chief, Kewinaquot (Returning Cloud); the other elements in her blood were French, German, and Scotch.—Ed.

Louis Grignon² invited us to spend the night at his house, and come to an early tea. There being no streets, there were, of course, no vehicles. Every house was built near the road. We took the foot-path which led along the river's shore, and from which pathways diverged to each home along the way. The old Grignon homestead stood a little north-west of the present residence of Miss Ursule Grignon. It was a roomy, low house, with very low ceilings and small windows; yet it looked very cheerful with its rustic furniture. Indian mats were used instead of carpets, as with all French families at this time. Mr. Grignon had a houseful of handsome daughters, who made his home attractive. He was a gentleman

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of the old school. He spoke little English, but his French was excellent, and his manners delightful. Madam Grignon used neither the French nor English, but spoke the Chippewa.

2 Louis Grignon was a leading fur-trader at Green Bay; he had been a lieutenant in the English Indian department during the War of 1912–15. Numerous letters by and references to him appear in almost every volume of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*— Ed.

The morning following our arrival, we set out to seek what was to be our home. The foot-path from the house 208 to the river, and along its edge, was one way, but we preferred going through the woods.

We dined by invitation with Major and Mrs. Robert Irwin, Sr. After a late dinner we again resumed our walk. A path, turning past the last house on the street, that of Robert Irwin, Jr.,¹ led up through beautiful woods, about a quarter of a mile to Camp Smith,² which stood on the summit of the hill, directly in the rear of the present location of R. B. Kellogg's barns. A large two-story double log-house, with two smaller houses, were all that were left of the old fort buildings. Of the two latter one was the garrison school house; the other, a "wash house." The large house, the only one to be procured at this place, my husband had rented in the previous June. Here we went to housekeeping. This house was built in the usual manner of army officers' quarters: a broad hall through the middle, with a large room on each side and a fireplace in each. Upstairs there was a narrow hall, with a bedroom on either side, each with its fireplace. At the rear of the main building a narrow hall, divided in the middle, ran crosswise, and from these halls the housekeeper entered her own kitchen, which was entirely separate from the other. Each kitchen, had its own fireplace and doorway, leading out of doors. We chose the south side of this house.

1 Robert Irwin, Jr., arrived at Green Bay in 1817. His younger brother, Alexander, came with their father, Robert Irwin, Sr., in 1822–23. All three became prominent in the business and social life of the town. In 1822, Robert Irwin, Jr., was appointed postmaster of Green

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Bay, and held that office for many years. See frequent references to the Irwins in previous volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*— Ed.

2 Fort Howard was built in 1816, on the west bank of Fox River at Green Bay. In 1820, Col. Joseph Lee Smith, then in command, built a new fort ("Camp Smith") on "the other side of the river, some three miles further up stream, and on high ground a half mile back from the river. This was at what was subsequently called Shantytown."— *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, p. 139. In 1821, Smith was succeeded by Col. Ninian Pinckney, and in 1822 by Col. John McNeil, who removed the garrison to Fort Howard. See article, "The Military History of Green Bay," *Ibid.*, pp. 128–146.— Ed.

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In our part of the back hall, Mrs. Daniel Curtis (wife of Captain Curtis, U.S. A.) was killed by lightning three months before, while alone in the house with her three little children. When her neighbors discovered her lying dead on the floor, her babe lay asleep in the cradle, and her two little children were at the table eating; a fourth child was at school. Mrs. Curtis was a grandmother of the wife of Gen. Phil. Sheridan.¹

¹ "Captain Curtis's daughter Irene married General Rucker, U.S.A., and their daughter became the wife of General Philip H. Sheridan."—Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* (Green Bay, 1893), p. 193. Curtis, on leaving the army, became a Green Bay school-teacher; but after teaching for a year was succeeded by A. G. Ellis.— Ed.

We found that our goods had arrived, but no servant was to be procured; so we set about making ourselves as comfortable as we could. In those days there were no markets, no bakeries, no one who sold cooked food in any form. Everyone had to do her own cooking, which was all very well for those who knew how; but only think of the plight of those who, like myself, did not! Having always been a petted child, being an only one, my education in the housekeeping line was at first no better than in any other.

We lived alone in the large house nearly two months. My husband's office was near Judge Lawe's place, some two miles away. I was alone all day, with not a human being near me. The nearest house was that of Robert Irwin, Jr., about a quarter of a mile (as I have already stated) through a thick wood. As I did not talk English, speaking only a few words, and understanding it as little, conversation with my neighbors was not interesting to me, and I did not seek them as I would have done had they spoken French. In consequence, my life was very solitary. My husband would mount his horse directly after breakfast, and I would not see him again until near evening. But housekeeping was new and difficult for me, and there was little time left to fret. That I shed many tears I cannot deny, but they were all wiped away and forgotten, as soon as my husband arrived home. 15

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I must now mention another dwelling, which was built for the commanding officer of the garrison, and was located below the hill west of Kellogg's barns, ours being to the east. It was like the house on the hill, a large two-story log structure. Maj. Henry B. Brevoort, the United States Indian Agent at Green Bay, occupied this house in 1824. He was a strange man, never mingling with other people. His wife and her niece, Miss Navarre, were French. They too, lived the isolated life which the head of the household seemed to prefer. However, the daughter was beautiful, and as she grew into young womanhood not even the father's unsocial nature served to exclude the company whom she attracted by her charms.¹ In after years, Paul Ducharme² lived in this house, and cultivated a fine garden for Judge Lawe.

¹ In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 293 et seq., is an entertaining sketch of early times in the Northwest, by Major Brevoort's daughter, Mrs. Mary Ann Brevoort Bristol. See *Ibid.*, xi, pp. 390, 391, for Morgan L. Martin's estimate of Brevoort.— Ed.

² A brother of Dominique Ducharme, who was the first white settler at Kaukauna (1793).— Ed.

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In 1823 the Northwestern judicial district of Michigan Territory was formed, comprising the counties of Mackinac, Brown, and Crawford, which counties embraced a large part of the present state of Michigan, the whole of what are now Wisconsin and Iowa, and a part of the state of Minnesota. In that year Gov. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, appointed James Duane Doty as judge of the district. The judge went to live at Prairie du Chien in 1823, but the following year he returned to Green Bay, making his home here for many years.³

³ Doty's commission as judge of the United States circuit court for the counties of Michillimackinac, Brown, and Crawford, was dated February , 1823 (according to *Historic Green Bay*, p. 183). He was then 23 years of age, and his yearly salary \$1200. The first term of his court was opened at Mackinac, July 21, 1823; the second at Prairie du Chien, October 17, following; another term was opened at Prairie du Chien, January 12, 1824, and still another at the same place, the following May 10th; he held a term at Mackinac, July 19, 1824; and opened his first term at Green Bay, October 4, 1824. Judge Doty's "Notes of Trials and Decisions," 1823–30, a neatly-kept MS. book of about 300 quarto pages, is in the possession of this Society.

In his address before this Society, in 1851, Morgan L. Martin said: "The first Court held in Brown county of which any record is preserved, was a special session of the County Court, July 12, 1824, Jacques Porlier, Chief Justice; John Lawe and Henry Brevoort, Associates."— Ed.

James Duane Doty's House, on Doty's Island (From photograph taken in 1899.)

Doty's House, at Shantytown (From Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* .)

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In October, 1824, the first term of the circuit court was held at this place. The court convened at the small school house, previously mentioned. The jury sat upstairs in our house, and two Indian murderers, when not wanted in the court room, sat in my kitchen.

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One of the Indians had murdered an army officer, whose name I believe was Patterson, and whose grave was in a small military cemetery but a few rods from our house. Strange to say, I felt no fear of these Indians. True, they were guarded by the sheriff, but he was in and out of the room all of the time. They were both large men and were painted black, which gave them a most hideous appearance. I was not afraid of them, because young nerves are strong. Yet, I think I should have been afraid of *white* murderers.

In November, John Dousman and family arrived from Mackinac.¹ They took possession of the other half of the house we occupied, having rented it in June at the same time my husband rented our home. The eldest Dousman child, Jane, was the friend of my girlhood. After my lonely life of nearly two months, my happiness was now complete.

¹ Augustin Grignon, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 242, says that John Dousman settled on the Lower Fox River previous to the War of 1812–15. See other references to Dousman in *Id.*, iii, x, xiii, xiv.— Ed.

The first call I received as a housekeeper was from Judge and Mrs. Doty. They walked up to our home, the Judge carrying their baby, Charles Doty, now of St. Andrews Bay, Florida. Mrs. Doty afterwards said she could not realize at the time that I could not speak English, but thought that I was only bashful, or reserved. The other neighbors called in due time.

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Madame Laborde came soon after to assist her daughter, Mrs. John Dousman, in the care of her household. Mr. Dousman was at one time a man of property, but was naturally extravagant. He was sutler at Fort Mackinac at an early day, which brought him into the society of the army officers, who generally lived up to their salary. Then his health failed him and his estate dwindled away. He still had some property at this place, which he had held for many years and which was one of the causes that brought him to Green Bay. His

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illness exhausted nearly all that was left of his possessions, little remaining to his family after his death.

In exchange for the lonely life I had been living, I was now surrounded by friends. We had many a sleigh-ride through the winter. Our favorite drive was to Judge Lawe's mills, on East River, where the Dickinson mills were later. As we had no church, this was one way of spending Sunday. One lady in this city will most certainly recall the sleigh-rides she took at this time with a certain army lieutenant, who a few months afterwards became her husband.

I have previously stated that there were no servants to be had here; I ought to have said maid-servants. We, however, secured a man servant, but not one who would do housework; that was considered degrading. In winter everyone had to keep a horse and a man, as each family had to provide their own supply of wood. The young man we hired, chopped the wood, hauled it to the house, prepared it for the fire, and carried it in. He would also bring in the water, take care of the horse and milk the cow; the latter he considered almost a disgrace. This man was an additional care to me. The men who would hire out for such work were young and very green Canadians from Montreal and its surroundings. They were known as *manegeure de lard*,¹ which is synonymous with a verdant or raw youth. After a time, we succeeded in getting a little Indian girl of about twelve years of age, wild as a deer, but not as

¹ "Lard-eater," a term applied by fur-traders to raw *voyageurs*.— Ed.

213 well clad. I had to dress her throughout. Remember my age ! I can, in fancy, see at this moment the clothes I made for her. It is needless to say she was of very little use to me, having never lived a civilized life. She, however, could take steps for me, and she could fight the man, which she did on all possible occasions.

At this time, all by myself, I was trying to master the English language, and learn to read. My husband was too busy to give me much instruction, as he practiced law by day and

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read it in the evening. I do not believe he realized how little I did know. He had given me writing lessons before we were married. I never attended school a day in my life, but learned to read a little from my grandfather, who taught a class of boys, but who would never oblige me to do aught against my will and pleasure. Being a spoiled child, it was my pleasure, it would seem, not to study. This was a great trial to my mother, who had received a good education.

Some time in March, 1825, we thought best to change our quarters. A house, opposite the residence of Robert Irwin, Jr., which had been a store, but was now converted into a dwelling house, we took for a few months only, as it was our intention to go to Mackinac in the summer.

My husband had to leave home in May, to attend court at Prairie du Chien. Judge Doty and he made the journey on horseback, taking for guide and waiter the faithful government blacksmith, an Indian, and one of the most reliable persons I ever knew. These gentlemen never thought of traveling, either by land or water, without the attendance of Awishtoyou.

The morning after my husband's departure I found myself alone, as my Stockbridge maid had decamped in the night. Yet I found friends who were willing to dispel my loneliness. Betsy Irwin or Agatha Grignon would come and spend the night with me in turn, and occasionally Elizabeth Grignon.

At last my husband returned, and the time came for my departure to Mackinac. On the twenty-third of June, 1825, 214 William Dickinson and Elizabeth Irwin were to be married. Although we were prepared to start, our Mackinac boat being ready, we were first to attend the wedding. The officiating justice was Jacques Porlier, Sr. He did not speak one word of English, and could not pronounce it when he tried. He read the marriage service, however, in English. Not one word could anyone understand, I know; certainly the groom did not understand a word, for he was too full of laughter to listen. All that we did make out was the *finale*, that they "were married according to the laws of the United States of America."

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At the close of the ceremony, we who were on the eve of sailing to Mackinac, remained long enough to congratulate the happy couple and drink a glass of wine to the health of all, and ourselves to receive many kind wishes from our friends for our safe journey and return.

We left Green Bay in a Mackinac boat, or bateau, to coast the shore as far as Mackinac.¹

¹ Mrs. Baird's vivacious account of this trip is omitted here, having been given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 55–64.— Ed.

* * * * *

On our return from Mackinac to Green Bay, where we arrived October 28, 1825, we went into our own house, built during my absence. It was of logs, one story and a half, with two rooms besides the kitchen downstairs, and two rooms upstairs. This house was built on the exact spot where now stands that large house nearly opposite the residence of Joseph Briquelet, in Shantytown.

It was neither clapboarded outside nor plastered in; but the chinks on both sides were so neatly fitted with pieces of wood that they presented quite a smooth appearance. Both sides were whitewashed. On the floor we spread the Indian mats, placing tables and chairs about the room. The bed, with its curtains, occupied one corner of the only room we used, that winter of 1825–26. On the bare walls hung a looking glass. Our grounds were handsome, the house being on the brow of the hill. At the base of the 215 hill, and between it and the river, was a grove of plum trees festooned with wild grape vines.

We were accompanied from Mackinac by a little girl of ten years of age, who was bound to us until she should reach her eighteenth year. In no other way could we get a female servant. Marguerite Boursasa was our only servant beside our man. Antoine Robineau—who has been mentioned by Mrs. Kinzie in her book, *Wau-Bun* ¹—certainly had a mission in this world. He must have been sent as a trial to all who ever had to deal with him. He

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was lazy, a *maladroit* in every sense of the word. He was one of the most inveterate of tobacco-chewers. This most undesirable specimen of humanity we brought with us from Mackinac as a woodchopper.

1 Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the Northwest* (New York, 1856), p. 439.

Our only neighbor was Col. Joseph Ducharme and family. They lived just south of us, where is now the north building of the Hochgreve brewery. This was a genuine French home. The dwelling was large, with a spacious porch in front, the roof coming low down, making deep eaves. The house contained a large chimney; and the French windows, which opened like doors, were filled in with very small glass. At the rear of the house, a large pine tree spread its long branches, and the roots, which were exposed in some places (as the tree grew on the edge of the hill), were as large as a small tree. This was the largest tree in the locality, it measuring from ten to twelve feet at its base. It served as a landmark for many a year. It was an old tree in 1824, and lasted twenty or thirty years after that date.

Colonel Ducharme, who had been in the French army, came to Green Bay about 1797. He had still in his possession some of his military clothes, in which he would dress on special occasions. His family consisted of his wife (an invalid who died soon after our arrival here) and four sons, all musicians. Louis, the eldest, was our fiddler. Whenever 216 we made up a sleigh-ride party, we were always accompanied by Louis Ducharme, as we expected to dance wherever we stopped, whether by day or by night.

The resources of our small community were meagre. There were no churches, and few schools. Once a month a mail arrived, carried on the back of a man who had gone to Chicago, where he would find the mail from the East, destined for this place. He returned as he had gone, on foot, via Milwaukee. This day and generation can know little of the excitement that overwhelmed us when the mail was expected —expectations that were

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based on the weather. When the time had come, or was supposed to have come, that the mail carrier was nearing home, many of the gentlemen would start off in their sleighs to meet him. The arrival of the mail, coming as it did in such long intervals, held much that was sad as well as glad. For two years I received but two letters a year from Mackinac, one coming in the winter, another in the spring, so isolated at that time was the dear old island from all the world.

It is unnecessary to say what was the chief and popular amusement of this frontier community. We were all young, with a few exceptions, and as a matter-of-course dancing took the lead. Dancing and sleigh-rides made the winter's round; we never danced in summer. Fiddlers were most plentiful in those days, and the music, if not of the highest order, was enjoyed. The military had a full band, but the only parties at which they played were those which the officers gave; and very handsome parties they were, too.

Our parties were mostly impromptu affairs. One gentleman would meet a friend and would propose to go to another friend's house that evening, to have a dance. Word would be sent to the latter, and he in turn would notify his wife. If her house were small, she would clear out one room for the dance. I never knew a lady to start any of these parties herself, although always ready to join in them. At these impromptu affairs, the friends would assemble as soon after supper as possible, say about seven o'clock. They would be accompanied by Louis Ducharme, 217 and dancing would begin immediately, as all had to go home early.

Such were our informal parties. There were others, for which great preparations were made. What would the housekeeper of to-day do, if she had to prepare for a social function in the manner we did? For our jellies and blanc manges we had to manufacture our own gelatine by boiling calves' feet. The wine jelly of those days was called "calves-foot jelly." Everything had to start from the foundation. No fowls or game were ever sold dressed. Coffee was purchased unroasted. In fact, everything was in its raw state. The drinks for our parties were mostly home-made, such as currant wine, cherry bounce,

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raspberry cordial, etc. Beside the preparation for the refreshments,—we believed in great suppers,— the house, if small, had to be re-arranged so as to admit the greatest number. There was always a room provided with cradles, and a nurse or person to stay with the babies and rock them as it proved necessary, while the mothers danced. Having no servants, we could not leave the small children at home.

These were the days of tallow candles. When the town offered sperm candles, not all of us could afford them.

The second year after entering our own home, the house was completed, and a wing was added for an office, which was large enough to dance in. Before this, we Bairds had been unable to have dancing parties, not having sufficient room.

Our home and surroundings now began to look attractive. My husband was a natural gardener, and had a large garden on the north side of the house. The row of maple trees, in the yard near the road, which stood there a few years ago, and may be standing yet, he planted.

Near the river, at the southwest corner of our lot, stood the wigwam of our hunter, where he and his wife and twin babies lived. Everyone who was not an Indian trader had to keep such a hunter. Wabagenese (White Swan) was a famous hunter, but was also a drunkard—so much so that he did not even own a gun. My husband would lend him 218 his, and furnish the ammunition with the understanding that the fellow was not to touch it when drunk. Wabagenese would go off on his hunt, and return with many ducks and pigeons, often more than we could use, which enabled us to give to others.

This home became very dear to me; I loved it, for I was happy there. The society, too, was pleasant. There were many agreeable people at the fort. Some officers who had been stationed at Mackinac when I lived there, had now removed to Fort Howard. Maj.

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William Whistler's large and agreeable family I knew well. Their daughter Caroline, now Mrs. Caroline Bloodgood of Milwaukee, was of my age and we were intimate.

Capt. John Clitz and wife, parents of Gen. Henry B. Clitz, U.S. A., were exceedingly interesting people, and liked by all who knew them. Some of their children were born here. Captain Clitz, while in command at Fort Mackinac, died there (Nov. 6, 1836), and was buried on the island. In the summer of 1826, Daniel Whitney¹ left Green Bay for the East, and returning the latter part of September, brought with him a very handsome bride, who proved herself as good as she was beautiful.

¹ Daniel Whitney, of New Hampshire, first visited Green Bay in 1816, and later came to reside permanently.— Ed.

Dr. William Beaumont,² wife, and one child, were here at the time of which I am writing. I had known Dr. Beaumont when I was quite a child, he being military surgeon at Fort Mackinac. Indeed, I remember when he brought his bride to Mackinac.

² See sketch of Beaumont, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 397, note 4.— Ed

In December, 1826, Alexander J. Irwin and Frances P. Smith were married, the ceremony taking place on Sunday, December 2. They were united by Justice of the Peace Beam.³ On the following Wednesday a large party was given at the fort by Capt. Henry Smith. The weather was very stormy, the ice not strong enough to use, there

³ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 256, 257, for Albert G. Ellis's account of Nicholas G. Bean.— Ed.

219 was no bridge, and at that time no regular ferry. But a detachment of soldiers attended to the crossing of the river for that night. We of course attended our friend's wedding party. The house we left in care of Antoine, the tormentor. We came down on horseback, leaving our horses at Captain Arndt's Inn,¹ as it was then called. We enjoyed the party, which was as grand as the country could afford—much more so than any citizen could attain, for

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the military supplies were excellent. Caroline Whistler, the bridesmaid, and Lieut. E. Kirby Smith, U.S.A. (killed at the battle of Molino del Rey, September 11, 184), groomsman, were in attendance.

1 See Historic Green Bay, pp. 199, 200, for description of John P. Arndt's inn.— Ed.

Soon after the supper had been served, many left, fearing the storm, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Whitney among them. But we dancers remained, not knowing the storm was increasing. When the party broke up, behold the storm was so great we could not cross the river. We all had to stay with friends, of course, as there were no public houses. We stayed at Maj. William Whistler's, where I should have enjoyed my compulsory visit had I had my baby with me. I will not tell how badly I felt with a separation of two nights and a day from the little one. It seemed as though I never would again leave her, although I knew she was well cared for.

In August, 1828, we received a visit from my sister, Mrs. Joseph Rolette, who was accompanied by her husband and her two children and his two daughters.² This was the first time I had seen her since we left Prairie du Chien, when I was two years of age. Rolette I knew well. He was my godfather, and I had seen him every summer when

² When the War of 1812–15 was declared, Mrs. Baird's father, Henry Munro Fisher, Prairie du Chien representative of the American Fur Company, left that place, leaving behind him his daughter Jane, in charge of her aunt, Madame Brisbois. In after years, Jane married Joseph Rolette, then an elderly man. Fisher went to Selkirk Settlement, where he entered the employ of the Hudson Bay Company.— Ed.

220 a child, at Mackinac. Later he always stopped with us at Green Bay, when on his way to and from Mackinac. I was one of his traveling companions in one of those journeys.¹

¹ Mrs. Baird's description of this trip is published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 55–63.— Ed.

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In 1825, Judge Dory had erected the first frame house ever built in this place. It stood on the point of land just above the old Jones place. It proved a larger house than he required, so he built another house, a brick one—that too, the first of its kind here. That is still standing, and is now called the Jones place. The frame house he sold to the government for the Indian Agency. Colonel Stambaugh, Indian Agent, moved into it in 1830.

Daniel Whitney came to Green Bay in the summer of 1819, being then twenty-four years of age. He established himself near Camp Smith (Menomoneeville, or Shanty Town), two and a half miles above the present city. This was the starting point of all of his numerous enterprises. He explored the Fox River to its source, and the Wisconsin River from the rapids to the Mississippi. In 1821—22 he was sutler for United States troops at Fort Snelling, on the Minnesota River. He also established several trading posts on the Mississippi, where he supplied traders with goods. In addition to those, he had a trading post at Sault Ste. Marie.

Between the years 1825 and 1830, Whitney explored the Upper Wisconsin, and at Plover portage he built mills. For more than fifteen years he was engaged there in the business of manufacturing lumber, and running it down the Wisconsin and Mississippi to the St. Louis market. This was the first lumbering establishment erected on the Wisconsin River, and probably the first on any tributary of the Mississippi. During the same period he also built a shot tower at Helena, on the Wisconsin River, and had an extensive business there.²

² See Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot-Tower," in *Wis. Hist. Coils.*, xiii, pp. 335–374. — Ed.

At Green Bay, Whitney had a large establishment, in which he employed many clerks; all were gentlemen, and

Jacques Porlier's House (From Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay*.)

Daniel Whitney's House (From Martin and Beaumont's *Old Green Bay*.)

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221 proved great additions to Green Bay society. As has already been indicated, he was the most energetic business man here. He brought to this locality carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, painters, farmers, etc. All these he had in his employ, so varied were his interests.

The house now occupied by Madame Whitney on Main street, Mr. Whitney built as a farm house.¹ It was in the woods, and from the river side we could see the smoke curling through the trees. It was a double house, and Antoine Allard, a married farmer, was placed in one half of it. The Allards boarded some of the mechanics who had no families. On East River (then called Devil or Manitou), just north of D. W. Britton's landing, Whitney had a potash house, in charge of which he placed a man by the name of Clafland.

¹ Mrs. Whitney died in 1890; the old house was demolished in 1898.— Ed.

From his earliest acquaintance with the locality of Green Bay and its surroundings, Whitney entertained the most unbounded confidence in its capabilities to become the most important commercial town in the State. Acting in accordance with this faith, he, as early as possible, secured the land where the city now stands, and in 1828 or 1829 he laid out the town of Navarino, since incorporated as Green Bay, and began the building of a city.² In 1830 he had completed a wharf and a spacious warehouse. Where the Beaumont House now stands, he erected the Washington House. This he occupied as a private residence for a few years. He also built a school house, and several dwelling houses for his mechanics and laborers. From 1830 to 1840 he continued to build stores and dwelling houses. In 1831 he moved his store to Navarino. It was located on the southeast corner of Washington and Main streets. Later, he with his family took possession of the house on Main street, where he died and where the family have ever since resided.

² *Historic Green Bay*, p. 237, says 1830.— Ed.

At this time houses were very scarce, and Mr. Perry rented one-half of the farm house, where he remained for 222 a short time. He was sutler at the fort at the time the troops

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were removed. He remained here some time after the departure of the latter. He was the father of Clitz and James Perry, both of whom are now living at Fond du Lac.

In the winter of 1828–29, Alexander Grignon entered Mr. Baird's office with the purpose of reading law. The next spring he abandoned his studies in this line, saying "He was not born to be a lawyer." We were sorry to part with him. He was a fine young man, but one who had no self assumption, or he would have remained and been admitted to the bar. Here let me quote Sam Ryan, of the Appleton *Crescent*, who in an obituary on Mr. Grignon wrote: "He will be remembered as a genial and courteous gentleman. He was possessed with a fund of anecdote and adventure connected with frontier life and early history, and was always a pleasant companion and sincere friend." The tribute quoted was expressive of my own feelings upon the announcement of his death in 1882.

Gen. Albert G. Ellis¹ came to Green Bay in 1822. In 1825 he went East, and returned soon after with a bride. She was a lovely woman, warm-hearted, refined, and intelligent; she had, in addition to these qualities, force of character that inspired respect. The Ellises lived in a small log house, south of the surgeon's quarters, outside of the fort, where Ellis had a school for the children of the fort, and others who could reach him. At this home, Judge E. H. Ellis and his brother, Fred S. Ellis, were born.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 424, for biographical sketch.— Ed.

In 1837, Ellis was appointed by President Van Buren as surveyor-general of Wisconsin and Iowa. At the close of the year 1833, the Green Bay *Intelligencer*, the pioneer newspaper of Wisconsin, was started by Ellis and J. V. Suydam.

In the spring of 1829, Ellis moved his family to the residence vacated by Major Brevoort, the Indian agent, who was removed to another place.

In the summer of 1827, Rev. Richard F. Cadle, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his sister, Miss Sarah B. Cadle, came to Green Bay, to establish the mission for 223

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the Menomonee children, at Menomoneeville, now Allouez.¹ What a God-send it was, to the people of this place! Would I could describe this sainted man. He was a great scholar, perfectly devoted to the church, a man of large heart, and most unselfish. His every thought was to promote the cause to which all his energies were directed, and he went about doing good as opportunity presented. He was an entertaining person, and a witty man, yet notably timid. Cadle and his most estimable sister, Miss Sarah Cadle, went to board at the Ellises, where they remained all winter. Here I will quote Ellis's estimate of Cadle: "I have had acquaintance with many of the clergy; for faithful, conscientious discharge of every duty, for untiring labor, for sweetness of temper, and all the graces that mark the gentleman and the true Christian, I have never yet found the superior of the Rev. Richard F. Cadle."

¹ A detailed account of the Cadle mission, with documentary material, will be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 394–515; a synopsis of its career is given on p. 411, note 2.— Ed.

Mr. Cadle, after three years of hard labor, fatigue, and anxiety, found his health failing him, and he had to ask for a successor.

But to return to Mr. Cadle's school. As the Mission House was not yet built, he obtained a small building at Camp Smith (the same in which the first court was held in Green Bay in 1824). Though small, the building sufficed for the commencement. Notice was given in November of the opening of this school; for some weeks it numbered just one scholar. Mr. Cadle admonished us not to "despise the day of small things." The school gradually increased in numbers, and soon the room was not large enough to accommodate all who came.

In 1830, George McWilliams came from Ohio to Green Bay, and the same season he and Edwin Hart built the Mission House. The building of this house was a great event for Green Bay, it being the second frame building erected in the state.² This new building was soon filled with children.

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2 See Wis. Hist. Colls., xiv, p. 476, for contemporary engraving of the mission buildings.—Ed.

224 The school was taught by Miss Kellogg (who afterwards became the wife of John Y. Smith) and J. V. Suydam. The children of the village attended as day scholars. Cadle was truly the children's friend—kind and gentle, it was his custom to combine instruction with amusement. The grounds about the Mission House were most neatly and tastefully kept, they being under the supervision of Miss Cadle.

The first year, one good-sized building for boarders and a school house constituted the mission. The next year another building was added to the number, and yet there was not room enough for the children. They came faster and in greater numbers than they could be cared for.

Edwin Hart, who had a very nice home,—his sister being his housekeeper,—boarded McWilliams. The first winter McWilliams spent here, he suffered greatly with the rheumatism. He could scarcely get to our house, with the aid of crutches, to take a hand in a game of whist. Mr. McWilliams was also the architect and builder when Fort Howard was reconstructed. He was thus engaged for four years. He was a member of the first territorial legislature, in 1836. He never married. In 1843 he went to Fond du Lac and became very wealthy, dying there, in his own home, tenderly cared for by his adopted daughter, who loved him as her own father.

The same schooner that brought the Cadles to this locality brought also a handsome, newly-married pair, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel W. Beall. Beall was a lawyer and a Virginian; his wife was a niece of Fenimore Cooper, the novelist.¹ They were accomplished, but as odd as any one could be, their eccentricities attracting much attention. They were at first poor, but very gay. Mrs. Beall was fond of dancing, but had no idea of time. Mr. Beall never danced, but was a persistent card player. In after years, Beall was receiver of the land office. in 1835, at the land

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1 A biographical sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth F. Beall may be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 474.— Ed.

225 sale at Green Bay, he was fortunate in his speculation and became quite rich.

Mrs. Beall had two sisters with her at different times, both charming girls. The eldest married an army surgeon, the other a young Englishman. The latter was educated in Paris, and possessed a most extraordinary mind; he was, withal, a lively and genial companion. His French was notably elegant; in conversation he was polished and entertaining; his manners were graceful and courteous. He died young. This was Edward Outhwaite, father of Mrs. Flora B. Ginty, of Chippewa Falls.

Green Bay did not suit Beall after he had grown rich. They moved back to the East, where they remained until they had spent all they had previously acquired; then they returned here, as poor as they were on their first arrival. Beall became in consequence quite morose and unhappy, but no one would have discovered from Mrs. Beall that they had suffered any change in their circumstances. She was always pleasant, agreeable, very entertaining, and seemingly happy. She certainly was the most fluent talker I ever knew. They raised a large family of children, the daughters inheriting the fine looks of their parents. The sons, I believe, have all died. Beall came to a very melancholy death, out in the Far West, having been shot. Mrs. Beall became a most devoted Christian, full of charity and good works.

In May, 1830, it being necessary for Mr. Baird to attend court at Prairie du Chien, and having for a long time promised my sister a visit from me, he felt that in this trip he could combine business with pleasure. He obtained a large-sized birch-bark canoe, about thirty feet in length and five feet wide in the center. Our outfit very much resembled the one we had when we made our trip to Mackinac. We had mattresses and blankets, but no cot-beds, as those could not be carried in our canoe.

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We had a large tent, and the ever-valuable mess basket, perhaps not as well filled as it would have been had Rolette 16 226 been the caterer; certainly we had no more eggs than we desired to eat.

Our party consisted of Mr. Baird, myself, and two small children, Miss Rees, Miss Irwin, and a servant girl. The crew were: four Frenchmen,—good singers,—our ever faithful Awishtoyou, as steersman, and our old hunter, Wabegenese, as bowsman.

On leaving home we were escorted by a party of ladies and gentlemen, in a Mackinac boat, as far as “the island,” since called Doty's Island. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Irwin, Jr., their daughter Mary, Irwin's sister Kitty, and their friend Miss Russell, Samuel Irwin, Miss Frances Henshaw (sister of Mrs. E. S. Whitney, and in later years wife of Dr. Truman Post, of St. Louis), and Charles Brush.

We were invited by Augustin Grignon, of Kaukauna, to pass the first night of our journey at his home, where we were entertained in a hospitable manner. The evening was one of pleasure. Miss Henshaw, in a charming way, amused the party, and seemed herself delighted with the novelty of the trip. Miss Russell, although naturally a great talker, said that everything was so new and interesting that she could find nothing to say. Miss Rebecca Rees, now widow of Dr. Whiting, of Detroit, and Miss Jane Irwin, now widow of J. V. Suydam, seemed to hold themselves in reserve for the remainder of the journey.

The next morning we left our Grignon friends, they wishing us all sorts of good luck, with a kind invitation to stop with them on our return.

On nearing Grand Chute, now Appleton, the scenery was beyond anything I can describe. Each shore was varied in outline, while the rapids or falls impressed one with their greatness, enforcing a sense of personal insignificance. The hand of man had as yet left nature's loveliness unmarred. There was not a house in the place. We went ashore at the lower, and strolled along to the upper landing. On the way there we seated ourselves on

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the brow of the hill, and watched the crew as they carried the canoe. 227 From choice they carried it on their shoulders, as it was light. The baggage had previously been carried over. The Mackinac boat, as before described, was carried just out of the water. The men walked in the water with their load, but kept near shore. It was remarkable to see with what a zest these *voyageurs* enjoyed this kind of work. The more the rapids foamed and dashed by them, the happier they seemed to be. When opposite our resting place, they greeted us in their ever joyful manner— *un cri de joy* from the Frenchmen, and a hearty *saw-saw-qua* from the Indians.

We had greatly admired all the rapids of the river, as in turn we reached them, from the *rapides des peres* onward; but we were not prepared for the spectacle that awaited us at Grand Chute.

At the “upper landing” our mess baskets furnished our dinner. We did not pitch a tent, but had a picnic under the trees. The crew made a fire, and the ladies made the coffee.

Soon after, our canoe and boat were ready and we embarked again. We crossed Little Butte des Morts, where the long railroad bridge now crosses above Appleton. We reached the island early, and here our escorts' tent was pitched under a large tree; ours was pitched near by. All lent a willing hand in the preparation of supper.

The party who escorted us from home had planned on this occasion to give us a tea party before leaving us, and a superb one it was too. The evening was very pleasant, and we sat around the fire near our tents, and enjoyed the stories that one and another told, as the evening wore on. Many are now recalled, that bring the narrator vividly to mind. In the enjoyment of the hour no one thought of watching the clouds. Fancy then, the surprise of most of us, the horror of some, when, soon after we had retired to our tents and were fairly asleep, we were aroused shortly after midnight by a severe thunder storm. The tent under the tree was not considered safe. The gentlemen who had taken shelter under the canoe came to the rescue. They took the tent down and pitched it in a safer place. The confusion

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228 of changing the tent and its contents took so much time, that daylight dawned upon us before all was settled again. Fortunately the children slept through it all, except the Irwins' little daughter Mary (about nine years old), now the widow of William Mitchell. No matter where the child was placed, the rain would drip in her face, which caused her to say: "I don't think this party is very pleasant. I wish I was home."

When daylight was fairly upon us, the preparation for breakfast began, but the rain drove the ladies into the tents, and the men took up the task. Nevertheless we had a nice breakfast, but not much room to eat it in, as we all had to crowd in our tent. However, we had a jolly kind of a meal, as, unless the rain continued, it was the last we were to share with our friends, who had escorted us thus far.

About eight o'clock the clouds began to clear away, and our canoe and boat were put into the river and loaded. Our friends were anxious to return to Green Bay, and we were quite as anxious to resume our journey. But while we bade each other farewell, the clouds again assumed a threatening look. We knew it was going to rain, still we would not wait. As we left the river at the Neenah side, Awishtoyou pointed across the lake, saying, "As there is no wind, I will steer right there, to the mouth of the Upper Fox River." We had gone but a half a mile into the lake, when another storm broke upon us. Thunder and lightning and wind, all hurled at us at once. Awishtoyou, who never spoke unless on a matter of business, said, "I'll now steer to Garlic Island." It is now called Island Park.

I never wished again to be in a birch-bark canoe in a thunder storm. Our craft, when loaded, stood about fourteen inches out of water, and the lightning seemed to play in the water all about, which brought it, in appearance, near our heads, as we sat in the bottom of the boat, our beds serving as cushions. Our shoulders reached the edge of the canoe. We arrived at the island, however, without meeting with any accident.

Early the next morning we left the island, reaching in 229 good season the village of Four Legs, where now the city of Oshkosh stands.¹

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1 Four Legs (Hootschope), the celebrated Winnebago chief, had his village at the outlet of Lake Winnebago. For accounts of this Indian, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 96, *note*; and numerous references in x–xiv.— Ed.

The weather was delightful after the storm, and the latter was the last one we encountered on our trip.

The Indians, at this time, were not altogether to be trusted. In some of the various villages that we passed, there were evident signs of hostility. In some instances, as soon as our canoe appeared, they would flock around us in their small canoes, placing themselves ahead of us and on all sides, so we could not pass them. This we would not have attempted, had they permitted us to do so, for that would have given them a chance to shoot into our canoe. They always asked us for whisky and bread. We gave them bread and flour in each case, and that satisfied them. We were then safe to pursue our journey.

I will quote from a lecture which Mr. Baird delivered before the Green Bay Lyceum, January 19, 1859: "We frequently encamped early in the afternoon, at some spot which attracted our attention from its natural beauty or romantic appearance, and strolled along the bank of the stream, plucking beautiful wild flowers which abounded; or, clambering up some high bluff or commanding headland, obtained a view of the surrounding country, and traced the meandering stream through its high banks, far in the distance. It was in the merry month of May, when the forest was clothed in its deepest verdure, the hills and prairies were redolent with flowers, and the woods tenanted by melodious songsters. It was truly a trip of pleasure and enjoyment."

The encamping place was always hailed with pleasure by the entire party. Many times Waubagenese would jump ashore and trot off into the woods. We would not see him again until we reached a good camping place, where we would find him with some game, the result of his chase. Sometimes it would be pigeons; at others, partridges or 230 ducks. He always had the birds ready for cooking when we arrived, whereupon we would all go to

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work to get the supper. Some of the men would aid us. Mr. Baird took it upon himself to teach us to roast the game before the fire, by putting one end of the stick through the bird and placing the other end in the ground. We often met Indians with venison, which they were very glad to barter for a piece of pork, which we could always have from the crew's supply. Thus we lived literally on the "fat of the land."

The Fox River is a very crooked stream, but the scenery along the way is beautiful. We traveled many miles to get through a short space of country. At one time we traveled all day, and at night could see the smoke of the fire which we had left in the morning. This might have passed unnoted by us had not my husband, who had previously made the journey, been aware of the fact and attracted our attention to it.

We reached Fort Winnebago on the fifth morning, but until near noon could not reach Pierre Paquette's, where we were to breakfast. We were set ashore to walk across to the residence of Paquette, while the canoe was taken on by the men, who had to follow in the winding stream of the river until they reached the portage.

Can you fancy the famished party that made a descent upon Mrs. Paquette? She had seen us coming, and had a nice breakfast or dinner, whichever you may choose to call it, ready. I had taken but a few crackers from the children's mess basket, supposing that the walk would be as short as it looked. The children had to be carried—one was five and the other a trifle over a year old—and that, too, retarded us somewhat.

On our entrance to the Paquette homestead we found a large room, with bare floor, and here the table was spread with the whitest of table cloths, and laden with apparently enough provisions to feed an army. The cooking had all been done before an open fire. There were two high pyramids of hard-boiled eggs at each end of the table; and before I was aware of it my little five-year-old child had devoured five of them. I was so greatly frightened that those pyramids made a lasting impression.

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Soon we were invited to the fort, which had just been established. It was built by Major Twiggs, and garrisoned by troops who had been stationed at Fort Howard. The officers were all bachelors, and had not seen a lady in a year. One can well imagine how glad they were to see those whom they knew so well. Indeed, we were treated like princesses. I never saw a party of men so desirous to wait on their friends. They gave us a fine banquet.

All of the officers, as I have already stated, we knew well. Major Twiggs, afterwards general in the Confederate army, I never liked; but he was very polite, and we could not help admiring his demeanor. Captain (now General) Harney I did not like any better, but could not but accept his generous hospitality. Dr. Worrell was a great favorite with us all. The lieutenants were equally cordial, but I cannot now recall their names. It was with difficulty that we got away at the appointed time, so anxious were they to have us remain.¹

¹ See A. J. Turner's "The History of Fort Winnebago," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 65–102. — Ed.

We were transported over the portage by an ox team, canoe and all. Here we came to the Wisconsin River, where the scenery is really fine. On this stream the sand bars were frequent; some of these we could escape by paddling around, others we could not. Then the men would have to jump out and push the canoe over. I cannot in words express how greatly we enjoyed the encampments on this river. The stream is so rapid that the men really had to hold the canoe back to avoid sand bars. We did not have much singing on this part of the journey. as there was too much watching to be done, to avoid these obstructions. The banks on either side were beautiful; the hills and bluffs charming.

One day Waubagenese jumped out and walked ashore for his usual hunt. Some hours afterwards we came to some very high hills, which seemed to reach higher and higher as we advanced. All at once one of the men pointed with his paddle up to the highest peak, and there stood revealed on the highest spot, Waubagenese, in an attitude so picturesque that it made a scene never to be forgotten.

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On Sunday we stopped at a prairie near Helena. After dinner we took a walk. In the distance we saw a house which aroused our curiosity, so we wandered toward it. It was a small log structure, and everything about it was exquisitely neat. We walked around and discovered that the door was not locked, but that the house was occupied, though the occupants were not at home. We peered into the windows, and in the bedroom we saw the nicely made bed, and on the pillow lay a night cap with embroidered strings, that are still vividly recalled. There were no other habitations anywhere in the vicinity. In after years, we learned that this residence belonged to Doctor Madaria.¹

¹ See Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot-Tower," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii.

The tenth evening after leaving home found us entering the noble Mississippi; and traveling four miles farther up the river brought us to Prairie du Chien, where we found the family of Rolette, and received a hearty welcome. It is needless to say we came unannounced.

The town was small, and Mr. Rolette had the largest house in the place. There was a porch on the top of it, which ran along the shortest side of the house, and there were seats all about, but no handsome views were to be gained from it. The prairie is very flat, and to my great astonishment the Mississippi River was full of islands. Nowhere could one see its full width.

Old Fort Crawford stood where the Dousman residence now stands. The troops were still at the old fort, and here I found Dr. and Mrs. Beaumont, parents of I. G. Beaumont of this city. The officers at the fort were Colonel —, Capt. John J. Abercrombie, Capt. Levin Gale, Lieuts. G. W. Garey, Albert S. Johnson, and Joseph La Motte.

During our stay at Prairie du Chien the town was 233 inundated, and we had to use "dug outs" to reach some places. The officers gave a large dancing party at the fort, in honor of Mrs. Rolette's visitors. There was, as yet, nothing but the walls up; the windows were

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not in, nor were the doors hung. But the floor was very smooth and offered a good surface for dancing. The party was a delightful one. It was on this occasion that Miss Emilie Rolette made up her mind to accompany us home. Later, while in Green Bay, she became enamored of and married Capt. Alexander S. Hooe.

Rolette had horses and carriages, and we visited his several farms and drove elsewhere about the country.

One evening we were startled by hearing the loud, successive reports of fire-arms. We were told that there was undoubtedly a fight between some opposing tribes who had chanced to meet near town. But as no further notice was taken of it, we retired as usual. About midnight we were aroused by hearing footsteps on the piazza, and also heard persons talking Indian. Finally, after there had been repeated knocking at the door and window-shutters, Rolette asked the reason of all the disturbance. He was informed that a great battle had been fought; the visitors were the victors, and they had come to procure some fire-water with which to celebrate the glorious event. The next morning we heard the particulars of this battle, and saw sights too terrible to be told in this narration of our charming journey.

We remained at the Prairie about ten days, when court adjourned. We then turned our faces homeward. The journey back was as full of delight as our trip up had been, but we all thought the mosquitoes had grown since we had last met them. Miss Rolette declared she never swallowed a mouthful of anything that she did not also swallow a mosquito.

As we glided along in our canoe, past the Indian villages, the natives seemed possessed with the same spirit that we had encountered in going. Several canoes would all at once appear alongside us, we scarcely knowing where they had come from. They still asked for bread and flour, which we deemed it wise to give them. The Indians of our crew were very careful never to encamp near one of these villages, but always chose the opposite side of the river. A canoe can never be put into the water without an Indian

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hearing it, no matter with how much care it may be done; and so well aware of this are they, that they seldom try to cross a river to visit an encampment.

At Fort Winnebago we were entertained by the officers; Miss Rolette was a very attractive young lady, and the whole garrison seemed pleased with her.

We travelled along smoothly, journeying slowly, and enjoying to the utmost all the trip afforded. When we reached Grand Chute, Appleton, Awishtoyou begged me to remain in the canoe and jump the rapids. He assured me I would like it. Of course I could not be persuaded to do so. We all sat on the brow of the hill and watched the canoe go over the chute, each man in his place, watching, with his pole guiding the frail bark safely down the swift, turbulent current. It is a very interesting sight; as we gazed, the canoe jumped, and away went the basket which held our best bonnets, into the air, as we supposed, never to return to the canoe; but, to our surprise, it came back safely to its place.

It may not be amiss here to describe my own bonnet, as I would gladly do of the others could I remember them. It was of pale, straw-colored silk, shaped by rattans, and was trimmed with green silk ruching, which was fringed. The basket was a light round basket with a tight cover. It held three bonnets, going up, and four on the return trip. We each had a small hair trunk, which constituted our baggage.

As soon as my husband could give me the necessary instruction in the routine of his business, I became his interpreter. His clients being entirely French, and he not understanding the language, it became necessary for him to resort to this method in order to conduct business at all. 235 I was grateful, indeed, to assume the duties, as it enabled me to learn the English language. I gave up the position when Alexander Grignon entered Mr. Baird's office, but had again to resume it when he left. The office of interpreter I filled until we moved to Navarino;¹ and was always in readiness to be called upon in cases of necessity.

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1 The nucleus of the modern Green Bay.— Ed.

I think it was in the summer of 1829 that Dr. David Ward came to Green Bay, and at the time there was not a place in the village where board could be procured. Mr. Baird gave him a lodging place in his office, and Edwin Hart took him as boarder. Of course, he had to make the office his home in the absence of any other at the time.

About 1834 Dr. Ward went East, and brought home a wife; a good, kind, and amiable person, who made the doctor as happy as his nature would permit. He was an eccentric man. They had a nice home in Green Bay, and reared a fine family. Some years ago they left Green Bay and removed to Wrightstown. Fifteen years ago or more after that, Mrs. Ward died, and following her death came that of their only daughter. I believe two sons were left the father.²

2 Dr. David Ward was born at Wells, Brooklyn County, Vt., Dec. 20, 1799. He practiced medicine for several years in Essex County, N.Y., and in 1827 removed to Mackinac; he arrived at Fort Howard in 1831, according to a biographical sketch in the *Kaukauna (Wis.) Sun* for Dec. 27, 1889. In 1835 he married Miss Phoebe Smith, of Sombra, Ontario, who died in March, 1881, the mother of three sons and a daughter. Dr. Ward is reputed to have been the first regular physician to practice in Wisconsin Territory. In addition to his private practice, he sometimes was called upon to act as post surgeon at Fort Howard, and in that capacity accompanied the troops when they laid out the military road between Green Bay and Fond du Lac. He also taught a mission school at Shantytown, was interested in the first steamboat navigation on Fox and Wisconsin rivers (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 309), traveled much among the Wisconsin Indians, made what was said to be the first purchase of government land in the valley of the Lower Fox, was for one term county treasurer of Brown County, and intimately knew Zachary Taylor, Jefferson Davis, Solomon Juneau, and other notables connected with early Wisconsin history. In 1843 he retired to his farm in Wrightstown, and there died in December, 1889.— Ed.

In June, 1829, we received an invitation from Augustin Grignon to attend the wedding of his daughter, Margaret, who was to marry Ebenezer Childs. Nearly all of the citizens of the town were invited.

A large Mackinac boat, or bateau, was procured, with a crew both of Frenchmen and Indians. The Frenchmen were in sufficient numbers to furnish joyous boat songs. The steersman was the ever-faithful Awishtoyou, the bowsman was an Indian, of course. I would I could remember how many of us went to Grand Kaukauna, as it was called, to attend this fine wedding given by a gentleman of the olden time, when everything was done with courtesy and hospitality, such as is seldom seen in these days.

I will put down the names of those who attended the wedding, as far as I can remember: Judge and Mrs. Doty, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Irwin, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Irwin, Miss Jane Green (I think she accompanied us), Miss Frances Henshaw, the Misses Rachel, Rebecca, and Polly Lawe, and Miss Ursule Grignon, Judge and Mrs. Arndt and son Hamilton (their daughter, Mrs. Cotton, was off at some post with her husband), Messrs. William Dickinson, Charles Brush, and Mr. Bartlett. We had with us our three months' old baby; our oldest child was left with our faithful Margaret.

Mr. and Mrs. Grignon gave us a most cordial welcome. Madame Grignon was a remarkable woman; her extreme gentleness and politeness commanded the respect and love of all.¹

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 423, *note*.— Ed.

Their home was large enough for any family, but not large enough for such a party as that we made. We arrived at 4 p. m. The tables were prepared, and were laden with all kinds of food, sufficient it seemed to feed a regiment. Not only the invited guests partook, but all the retainers, and everyone about the place shared in the wedding feast.

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Of course we could not dance, but card tables and similar amusements were proffered.
The pleasures and merriment

Capt. John Cotton's House (1842) (From Martin and Beaumont's *Old Green Bay*.)

Morgan L. Martin's House (From Martin and Beaumont's *Old Green Bay*.)

237 of that party were unbounded, as everyone was in the best of humor and ready in turn to entertain his neighbor. Judge Doty and Miss Henshaw were excellent at telling stories, with a fund of good ones ever at hand.

The evening quickly passed, for we sat at the supper table until 8 p. m. Mr. Grignon, in a very felicitous and amusing manner, announced to his gentleman friends that they would have to sleep in the barn. This announcement was received with pleasure. Even the groom and Mr. Grignon had to occupy the same quarters.

The next morning, after a sumptuous breakfast, we returned home, somewhat tired, but rejoicing that we had been able to attend the wedding of the daughter of our long-time friend. The bride spoke no English, the groom no French. The marriage ceremony was performed by Judge Porlier.

In August or September of 1831, Daniel Whitney went to Prairie du Chien in a Mackinac boat, accompanied by Mrs. Whitney, to visit very dear friends of the latter—Dr. and Mrs. William Beaumont. Miss Henshaw and Miss Samantha Brush were also of the party. Miss Ursule Grignon remained at Mrs. Whitney's home as housekeeper. This was really a trip of pleasure, for Whitney, when he had business to transact, went on horseback. In the present case, wishing to take the ladies, he went by water, inspired to do so doubtless by the account we had given of the trip we had previously made to Prairie du Chien.

When the party returned, Miss Elizabeth Rolette came with them. She had expected to visit her sister, Mrs. Hooe, at Fort Howard, but Lieutenant Hooe had obtained a furlough and had gone with his wife to his Virginia home to spend the first winter of their married

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life with friends there. In consequence of this, Elizabeth came to our home to spend the winter.

In May, 1832, we moved to our farm, which broke up our Shantytown home. Miss Rolette at this time went to visit Mrs. Whitney, where she remained until the return of the Hooes.

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In June, 1821, Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati, had come to Green Bay, accompanied by Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli.¹ On the second day of July, in a room at my home, the bishop baptized two of my children, one a little over two years old, the other two weeks. A site, at this time, was selected for a church in Menomoneeville (Shantytown). It was diagonally across the street from our house—a little to the south. This church was burned in 1846. Edwin Hart built the church; but I do not remember whether George McWilliams was associated with him in this work, as he was in the building of the Episcopalian Mission House.

¹ For account of Father Mazzuchelli's career, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 155–205.— Ed.

In November, 1833, Father Mazzuchelli came with two nuns to Green Bay. Sister Clare, an American lady, was superioress; the other was Sister Thérèse. We sold them our Shantytown home, which seemed well adapted to their use. These sisters were here during that fearful cholera visitation in 1834, when Father T. J. Van den Broek was stationed at Green Bay.

My husband thought that he could be both farmer and lawyer, but it turned out as I had predicted; he would be the lawyer, and I the farmer's wife. As I think of those days it makes me almost tremble, even now. The cholera first visited us in 1832. Mr. Baird had to go to Shantytown every day, to his business. I never saw him mount his horse without saying to myself, "Shall we ever meet again?"—the cholera threatening on one hand, the Indians on the other.²

2 See Andrew J. Vieau's account of the cholera epidemic of 1832–33, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 225.— Ed.

The militia had organized, and had encamped near the river, below the woods, on the west side of R. B. Kellogg's stock farm. My husband was the quartermaster. The officers were our Shantytown friends. There were received daily, alarming reports of the Indians and their doings.³

3 Reference is made to the Black Hawk War. See Marsh's journal, *ante*, pp. 60–65, relative to experiences at the Statesburgh mission during the scare.— Ed.

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One afternoon, just after Mr. Baird came home, John McCarty came in, very much excited, saying: "The Indians are coming. They are on the way. They are at Little Kaukauna, on their way down." What to do we did not know. The fort was being rebuilt, and could afford no protection. Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh¹ was still in the Agency House, and wished all to come there who could get in. Ah, how we watched! going to every high point and anxiously looking to see if the Indians had reached DePere. The signal was to be the firing of two guns or a cannon, when the Indians should appear. All work was abandoned. No supper was provided in our home, only for the servants and the children. My husband was too anxious to eat, and I could not lose a moment from watching. Night came on, the children were put to bed, although all during the night I could not have them out of my sight.

¹ Stambaugh had been the Indian agent, but was succeeded June 2, 1832, by Col. George Boyd, Jr. See "Papers of Indian Agent Boyd, 1832," and a biographical sketch of Boyd, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 266–298.— Ed.

At last, as everything seemed quiet, we ventured to lie down, ready to arise at any moment. We finally fell asleep; the next thing we knew, we were aroused by hearing the

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firing of two guns. Of course, that was the signal! We did not stop to dress the children, we were already dressed; my husband had left the horse saddled. We had three children—my husband took one child and led his horse, I took another, and our Margaret took the third. We all ran as fast as we could, to the Agency House. There my husband left us, mounted his horse, and joined the militia. My feelings cannot be expressed as I looked upon him, for I thought it for the last time.

The Agency House became crowded, as all who heard the guns came there. It was early morning, just daylight, yet the frightened people continued to come.

And now can I do justice to what followed this night of terror? The guns fired, were not intended as the signal. It happened in this way: the military always fire a morning gun, and our troops felt that they must also do the same. 240 So the fright ended. There was not a hostile Indian within a hundred miles of us.

After our nerves were once more quieted, we would often amuse our friends with an account of our flight. My youngest child, whom Margaret was carrying, dropped out of the quilt in which she was wrapped, and the girl was so terrified that for a moment she really could not find the child.

In June, 1832, Col. George Boyd came from Mackinac to occupy the Indian Agency House, lately vacated by Colonel Stambaugh, who was soon after removed to some other place. The house was only about a quarter of a mile from our farm; so we considered that we were not only to have neighbors in Colonel Boyd's family, but friends.

Colonel Boyd was, I believe, a Virginian, a talented man. A gentleman of the old school, his manners were perfect, his friendship very sincere, and he was charitable to the poor. He was just the person to hold the office he did. The Indians looked upon him as a father indeed.

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Mrs. Boyd was a charming woman, her cultivation and style of manners far surpassing those of any here. She was a sister of Mrs. John Quincy Adams. I quote from a letter from President John Quincy Adams to Mr. Baird, in response to a letter informing him of Boyd's death. He says: "Your estimate of his character corresponds with that which I have long entertained of it, and if viewed with the eyes of friendship will not be disavowed by the award of impartial justice."

I have in a previous article spoken of the hard work that had to be done in these early days from the beginning, and at home. I now had a true realization of it, having a larger family to work for. In the autumn, after the beef and pork were ready, I had to dip and mould more candles, after I had rendered the tallow. Then the lard had to be rendered, and sausage and headcheese were to be made, and all made at home. There were no shops where the meat could be chopped, nor the feet cleaned for souse. Indeed, there were no shops where eatables of any kind could be purchased, and no markets here for twenty years after we 241 arrived. Some who had more beef or pigs to kill than they could use, would sell a pig or a quarter of beef to his neighbor. We often made such purchases from Judge Lawe.

Every fall and spring, each family had a shoemaker come, and make shoes for the entire family; and as there was but one shoemaker here we had to wait, as ladies wait now for a dressmaker.

Poor old Martz, I see him now, when by way of taking a rest from his bench, he would, on every other Saturday, get on the horse and go to the nunnery after our seven-year-old daughter Eliza, who was attending the sisters' school. On Monday her father would take her back again, on horseback, as he was on his way to his business.

I spoke of waiting for dressmakers in these days; in the days I am writing of, there were none to wait for. There were no milliners either. Woe to the woman who could not make her own dress! And yet, our dresses did not look so very badly. At least, we were content.

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"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." Still, let me say we were fashionable and stylish people. Our fashions came from the East. We will not ask how late. But some lady, either a citizen or of the army, would arrive from the East, and she would be kind enough to lend her dress to some friend to make one by. That friend would lend to her friend, and so on until we were all served. It made no difference to us if another new dress did not appear for two or three years—until we wished to make another. We never thought of making over a dress for the fashion.

At the new church at Menomoneeville, in May, 1833, Rev. Fr. Simon Sandrell baptized my three months' old baby. Her baptismal name being Louise Sophie—my Indian relatives added to it Migisan, or Wampum. This little one is now Mrs. Louise S. Favill, of Madison.

Although our home was a gay and happy one, my work did not lessen, as no good servants could be procured.

About this time Navarino loomed up considerably, and all of the attractions seemed to be there. My husband having learned by experience that he could not be a farmer 17 242 and a lawyer at the same time, bought a lot in the new town, and built a house there. In due time we moved to Navarino, leaving our farm in Charles Mette's care, we having great faith in him.

The land office, the only one this side of Detroit, was established here in 1835; and the first government land sale that took place brought many moneyed men to Green Bay. Many came from Milwaukee, some from Chicago, and more from Detroit. They were the leading business men of those places, and some of them are yet living; but many have gone to a better land. The excitement of that time I cannot describe. It would need the pen of one of those land speculators to give a true description of it. William B. Ogden, who in after years was called the "railroad king," was the most prominent man among the speculators. He bought largely of land at government prices, and would sell the same property at auction, in the evening. The purchases were very largely made for speculation.

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At this time, Fort Howard was more completely separated from civilized life than is any military fort of the present day. It was garrisoned by the Fifth infantry, the officers of which, with scarcely an exception, were gentlemen of cultivation and of the highest honor; and their wives were equally ladies of culture and refinement. The feeling of isolation must have been great to many, and they were glad enough to engage in the excitement of our town to break the monotony of their quiet life. Many of the officers made quite snug fortunes—Captain Marcy, Captain Clary, all except Capt. Martin Scott, “the great shot,” who did not believe in speculation. He bought cautiously and made some money, however. He used jestingly to say that he and Mr. Baird became rich honestly.¹

¹ For details relative to Fort Howard, consult Evans's “The Military History of Green Bay,” *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, pp. 128–146.— Ed.

The corner stone of Christ church was laid by Bishop Kemper in 1838, and the church was completed in 1839, just ten years after the parish was first organized. This was neither a large nor a rich parish, but it was a “garrison town,” bringing rarely cultivated people to grace our church circle and help build up our society.¹ The military were always interested in all that concerned our town, socially as well as otherwise. We were very dependent on each other for our pleasures.

¹ The parish was, however, organized in April, 1826. See proceedings of vestry, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 451–455.— Ed.

Many from the fort attended church when the services were held in a school house; but the attendance was larger and more regular when the church was opened. At one time, Capt. M. E. Merrill marched his entire company to church every Sunday.

It was our good fortune to have this very estimable man stationed at Fort Howard at several different times. I believe the first time was as early as 1833 or 1834. In 1836 he married Miss Louise Slaughter, sister of William Slaughter, first receiver of the land office

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at this place. Captain Merrill's three sons were born in old Fort Howard. Our townspeople felt bereaved when the news came that Captain Merrill was killed at Molino del Rey, Mexico.

In noting the different officers who at various times were stationed here, I may not mention them in regular order, but some I cannot omit. Ever since my childhood days I have been accustomed to military life; and when the troops left Fort Howard for the last time, in 1852, I felt as though many of my good friends had gone for ever. How those of other days come thronging to my mind as I write of the times which never will return!

The Whistler family, in particular! How well I remember each one of them, from the good, kind father and very warm-hearted and indulgent mother, to the children of the household. Many of them were born at this place. Gwendoline, now Mrs. Robert Kinzie, of Chicago, and Garland, now General Whistler, U. S. A., were born at Fort Howard. Miss Caroline Whistler (now Mrs. Caroline Bloodgood, of Milwaukee), was one of my very best friends, when we were young. Her son, Frank Bloodgood, of Milwaukee, was born at Fort Howard.

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Dr. Walter V. Wheaton, of the army, was the only physician at Green Bay, when I came here in 1824. All had to depend upon the fort physician for treatment. But everyone was satisfied, for Dr. Wheaton was very kind, and seemed to give a fatherly attention to his patients.¹ His wife was a lovable woman. She had the lightest hair I have ever seen. It was almost white.

¹ See anecdote related by A. G. Ellis, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 259, 260.— Ed.

Dr. William Beaumont was the next physician here. I do not remember the time when I did not know him. He came to Mackinac in 1821. On their arrival at Green Bay they seemed indeed like old friends. They made many friends among us. Dr. Beaumont had always

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attended the citizens at Mackinac, so came prepared to perform the same duty here. He was ordered from here to Prairie du Chien.

Dr. Edward Worrell succeeded Dr. Beaumont. He was a very reserved bachelor, and did not make many friends.

Then came Dr. Lyman Foot, who made friends readily. He attained a large practice. Many would send for him who had always depended upon home remedies. His first wife was a delightful person, although somewhat retiring in manner. Two of their sons were born at the old fort. Dr. Foot was ordered to Fort Winnebago, where his wife died. After a few years he came here and married Miss Mary Cooper (in 1836), who made an excellent mother for his children, who became very fond of her. She was much beloved by her friends.

When Dr. Foot was ordered to Fort Winnebago, Dr. Satterlee succeeded him. He and his wife were a handsome couple—both young. Dr. Satterlee was also patronized by those of the citizens who preferred him to the local physician, Dr. Ward. Dr. and Mrs. Satterlee were two of the number who established the Presbyterian church at Green Bay.

Some time after Dr. Ward came to Green Bay, there came a Dr. Berths, who located here, but did not stay long. Army doctors still seemed to be preferred by the people.

Dr. George S. Armstrong, who came here in the autumn 245 of 1835, and Dr. Judd, who came here about the same time, were the beginning of the civilian line physicians.

The Third infantry were stationed here so long, that, when the order came to remove them, some felt very much aggrieved, and did not consider they were ready to move. So, too, indeed, it was with others who were stationed here. They all remained for some years, but finally we had to part with some very strong friends. It is sad to think how many of these friends have passed away. Some are still living.

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In 1835, farmers were appointed by the government to teach the Indians agriculture. Robert Irwin, Sr., Clark Dickinson, N. Perry, and Henry Baird (my husband's father) were chosen from this place. They were sent to Winnebago Rapids, now the city of Neenah. These farmers moved as early as possible in the spring, in order that they might be in time for the season's work. Small houses had been put up for them. My husband's parents moved with the rest of the farmers, about the last of April.

We moved to Navarino in May. We had been in our new house only about four months, when Mr. Baird, being offered a high price, sold the house, and again we had to move. We bought of Edwin Hart a small log house with a red door, which stood where the American House now stands. There was nothing but the broad street between us and the beautiful river. We moved into this in September, 1835.

A few rods to the rear of our house stood a small building, intended, I believe, for a work shop. It was in that little building that the early services of the First Presbyterian Church of this city were held. It was also used for a school house; our two older children attended here. Our third child had two years before gone to a better home. Our youngest was too young to attend school.

Most of the houses in Green Bay were far apart to the north and to the east. We enjoyed our little house very much, and had in anticipation the home which we built the next spring.

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Between Christmas and New Year's we and several of our friends made a visit to the farmers at Winnebago Rapids. We went by way of the military road, as it was then called, up to the Stockbridge settlement, on the east side of Lake Winnebago, and there crossed over to the west shore, then coming down a little north to the farm house. This road was made by a detachment of soldiers, accompanied by an officer. Each detachment worked a week in turn. Capt. Martin Scott, with his men, made twelve miles of the road, which was as straight as an arrow, and at the time was considered a great feat.

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We found our friends well, and delighted to see us. Every preparation possible was made to make our stay pleasant. Maj. Robert Irwin's house was, from its extreme neatness, a curiosity. The farm houses were sealed inside. There was no plastering, and many of the floors were bare. At Mrs. Irwin's all was scoured—floors, partitions, and doors; all that was wooden, looked new. The kitchen floor was sanded. This was not the case with the other homes, as they all had poor domestic help.

We remained at Winnebago Rapids long enough to spend a day at each friend's home. We visited in turn, all of us, at Major Irwin's, Mr. Perry's, and Mr. Baird's.

In the winter of 1836, Mr. Baird had a business call to the East. It was necessary that he should go some time during the following summer. As my health had begun to fail, my husband thought the change would prove beneficial, and it was decided that I should accompany him.

It was remarkable the interest my friends took in my plans for this then long and arduous journey, and strange the different opinions they expressed on the subject. Some wished me to go; others thought that I ought not. My good friend Mrs. Emmeline S. Whitney was delighted to have me take the journey. Could we have followed her advice we should have made a long trip of it, so many places did she desire us to visit. Mrs. Randolph B. Marcy (mother of Mrs. Gen. George B. McClellan) felt greatly elated that I was to visit the land she loved so well. Poor 247 child! She had come here young and had spent three years in this wild region, as she must have deemed it. No wonder she was glad that some one was to enjoy such happiness as going East would confer. Little any of them knew how gladly I would have given it all up. I had only to look at my children, to be very faint-hearted. The wife of Capt. Robert E. Clary (a very worldly woman) thought I ought to give up all idea of the journey, for if I went East I would never be happy at the West again. I had, however, the pleasure of telling her, on my return, that the happiest moment I experienced on my journey was when I turned my face homeward.

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We had no means of informing my friends at Mackinac that we expected to leave our children with them. As my mother was at her work, the translation of some Indian books, she was at Grand Traverse for that purpose. We arrived at the dear old Mackinac home, where I would have given so much to remain, and found my mother away, as I have already mentioned, on an absence of several weeks.

My grandmother was much delighted at the prospect of having the children with her, but feared they would be lonely, as she did not speak English at all, and only Eliza could speak French. Emilie, to please her grandmother Baird, had given up speaking French, and Louise, for the same reason, never spoke it. We left the three good little girls in the care of that devoted grandmother, who took care of them with fear and trembling. I never wish any one to take their first pleasure trip under just such circumstances as I did at this time. I never shall forget the parting. The boat had to pass in front of my grandmother's home. I could see her with the little folk looking at the boat that was bearing their all away. It seemed as though I should jump overboard to join my dear children. The eldest was only eleven, the next not quite eight, and the youngest only a little over three years of age, and they were to be left for some weeks where no one spoke English. I pitied my dear grandmother. It was not until we had lost sight of Mackinac Island, by rounding the point 248 of Bois Blanc Island, that I could recover myself. My husband was greatly distressed by my weakness; he always expected fortitude from me.

I need not say I spent sleepless night. The next morning when I went on deck, I saw my children everywhere I looked. When I gazed above, they seemed to be in the clouds. When I look about, they seemed all around me. I kept my feelings to myself, for fear of adding to my husband's already tried spirit. But in due time I became interested in the scenery. I never had seen Lake Huron, and its surrounding were new and grand to me. As we reached St. Clair flats, all was very interesting to my unaccustomed eyes. And when indeed a city, the first I had ever seen. The sight of the city, where we spent two days, filled my eyes with wonder.

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On arriving at Buffalo, we were detained there one day by Mr. Baird's business affairs; and when we were ready to take the canal boat, there seemed to be some difficulty about the time of starting. It was the third day of July, and an extra boat was put on. The "Sea Bird" was the regular boat, but an opposition boat was put on for the fourth of July. There was much quarrelling between the two crews before we left. We did not then know that the captain was not aboard his boat that night, and that he had left the passengers at the mercy of the mate, who proved to be a most cruel man.

Very soon after we had started, we perceived that the boats were racing. They went at a moderate rate throughout the afternoon, but the longer they raced the warmer became the contest, and all through the evening matters did not seem quite right. Yet no one was apprehensive of any great trouble, although the boats would jerk and knock against each other. Finally, however, many began to grow uneasy, and at one time some of the gentlemen went to the mate to dissuade him from continuing the race, but they found him under the influence of liquor and very abusive. Until this I had remained serene, thinking we 249 were only journeying as usual on a canal; afterward I became very uneasy. All of the passengers tried to be as cheerful as possible, and pass away the time that promised so little of pleasure.

At last the beds or bunks were hung, and I went to bed. I did not see why we should retire, as the racing still continued and it was fearful. The men, too, were fighting. One of the gentlemen went out to reconnoitre, and found our mate flourishing around with a carving knife. This was the first that we knew we had no captain aboard.

Think of the state of affairs, with the men drinking and racing! The boats would pass each other with such a crash that everything inside would tremble. This happened several times; when at last, about midnight, a terrible crash came and over went our boat. The keel of our craft was so far upon the side of the canal that through the windows on the other side the water rushed in. The excitement of the passengers, both men and women, was intense. The gentlemen were very angry and could scarcely contain themselves. But what could

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they do? As the boat upset I was on the upper side, so of course was thrown out. The ladies all scrambled out through the windows. As I resumed my place in the cabin, one of the ladies asked me if I would hand her band box through the window, pointing to where it was. This I did. Then another wanted a basket, and so on, until I had emptied the cabin. While I was serving my friends, a gentleman came to the window and said, "I think you had better come out. I do not believe they can right this boat." I told him I had a husband on board, whom I thought would tell me what to do. After some time this same gentleman came again and said, "Are you sure your husband is where he can speak to you?" Upon that, I thought it best to look around, and in doing so I met him coming to me. He told me to leave the boat, as he thought it was no longer safe to remain. Pie had just found out that my baggage had all gone overboard. Think of this, my first trip East, finding myself at the dawn of day wrecked on the borders of the canal, no one 250 knew where! (I suppose there were farms near, but there were no houses to be seen.) And my baggage all in the "raging canal!"

A more furious set of men I have never seen. They held an indignation meeting right there, and made out papers to send to headquarters, which were, however, never used. We remained there several hours without means to get away. We thought first of waiting till the next boat came along, which would not be until night. But having no provisions, we had to enter the other boat to procure food and continue on our journey.

In the meantime my trunk, bonnet trunk, and one of the long carpet bags of that day, were fished out of the water.

We continued on the canal to Schenectady. There we took the cars for Albany. This I believe was the first railroad in that part of the country, and was newly built. Many know how that railroad was run. There being a sharp ascent in the road, a stationary engine was used on the hill; one ballast car went down hill while the passenger car came up. I think we were four hours on this part of the journey. At Albany we took the steamer for New York, going down Hudson River in the night, a fact I greatly regretted.

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In 1839, my husband again had to go to New York. At this time he proposed that we should once more leave the children at Mackinac, and that I should accompany him to New York. This I decidedly declined to do, although I knew my mother was at home and the children would be happy. I, however, consented to go as far as Detroit and make a short visit there (as by this time I had many dear friends at that place), and then go back to Mackinac and visit with my mother and grandmother until Mr. Baird's return.

At the time of which I am writing, the Buffalo boats made their trip entirely around the lakes. So, in order to get away, we had to go all around Lake Michigan after leaving our bay. We left on the steamer "Columbus," commanded by Captain Walker. We found a crowded boat, for 251 every one who desired to go to Chicago had to come around by way of Green Bay. There was no other way to get there except by sail vessels, which were very irregular in their trips.

Our boat waited in Chicago some days for a load. Travelers overfilled the boat going West, but few passengers went East, and no freight. The society on these boats was very good, consisting largely of ladies and gentlemen who were in search of new homes, and who seemed to be glad to meet with Western people. The boats were luxuriant, nothing could be more comfortable; the tables were good, the servants also. One most important person on these stylish boats was the chambermaid; and one fared well who secured her friendship. Jane Wigg was the last I traveled with. There was nothing she would not do for me or mine. I crossed the lake with her several times. These boats had two departments besides the steerage. Ladies who had small children preferred taking the lower cabin, on account of its conveniences. There were two cabins, one below and the other above.

We continued on our journey and at last reached our dear old home. The children did not dread the visit. We visited Mackinac annually, and they were always happy to be there. My mother and grandmother Were expecting us, but felt greatly disappointed that we could stay with them for so short a time, as the boat remained only an hour.

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On our arrival at Detroit we found our friends expecting us. Mr. Baird left there the same day. At Detroit I was the guest of Mrs. R. Forsythe, a lovely person. She was the sister of my very dear friend, Mrs. Seth Rees, who had gone to Detroit some weeks in advance of my arrival. I enjoyed the visit very much. Mrs. Forsythe had visited me at Green Bay. At Detroit I found the widow of Dr. Wolcott of Chicago, she whom I had known in 1816 as Helen Kinzie. She was soon to marry George Bates of Detroit. She was a splendid woman. She lived only a short time after her marriage. My stay was short in Detroit, as my husband was to return at the earliest moment, and I wanted to 252 make my visit in Mackinac as long as possible. The day came when we were to return our calls. Mrs. Forsythe lived nearly a mile out of town at that time, though now I presume her home is far within the city limits. The roads were very bad, and we went in a cart on the unpaved streets of Detroit. I wonder how many who peruse this know what a cart is? Let me describe one. It is a box, fastened on timbers, and drawn on two wheels. The box is fastened to the front by a hook. When ready to unload, the driver backs up to the place and unhooks the box, which brings it to an upright position, and then he dumps his load. We did not wait to be landed in that manner, but as soon as the driver unhooked the box we jumped out.

It must be left to the imagination of the reader, the fun we had on this ride. Of course we did not mind the mud, although we were covered with it. Our pleasure was just as great. The ladies we called upon seemed fully to understand the whole affair. At last I had to part with my pleasant hostess and family, and return to my beloved ones. Our stay at Mackinac was made a very delightful one, so many friends there were who entertained me in various ways. Among them were Col. and Mrs. Joseph Smith, of Fort Mackinac. The late Madame Abbott was also a great friend of mine. She never spared herself in entertaining company, and always did it handsomely. She had an elegant carriage and a beautiful grey horse. Lecuyer was a fine driver. Many a drive have I taken with Mrs. Abbott, to visit the natural curiosities of the island.

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We returned to Green Bay on the boat which brought Mr. Baird back.

A trip across the territory was made by Mr. and Mrs. William Bruce and my husband and myself in February, 1842. We encountered deep snow throughout our entire journey, but the sleighing was generally good. Our sleigh, horses, and robes were of the best; Mr. Bruce would own no other. He was an excellent driver and prided himself on his horsemanship; his wife was equally skilled. Mr. Bruce came to Green Bay at an early day, and was largely engaged as a commission merchant and in the transportation business. At one time he was appointed Indian agent. He was an active, industrious man, and in his wife possessed the most capable helpmate that ever man was blessed with.

Never did younger people depart from home more gayly than we. We left after an early breakfast, expecting to reach Stockbridge, on the east side of Lake Winnebago, before dark, where we intended to stop at William Fowler's.¹

¹ A Brothertown Indian who served in the third session (1845) of the fourth territorial legislature, being one of the three representatives in the lower house, from Brown, Calumet, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc, Marquette, Sheboygan, and Winnebago counties.—Ed.

We took the military road, which was uniformly good. Snow had fallen the night before and covered all of the bad places, so of course we plunged into them in an alarming way.

At noon or soon after, we reached Gardner's place. This was kept by a colored man and his wife. We stopped here to dine. No one ever passed Mrs. Gardner's dinners. She was an excellent cook, and got up very nice meals. The rooms, too, were good. Everything about the house was neat, and it was a real comfort to occupy one of her beds after a trip over the road.

We had been traveling on the "straight cut road." The old landmark, the "eagle's nest," was in view long before we reached it and long after we passed it. Some time after leaving

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Gardner's we came to the end of Captain Scott's portion of the military road. The way that followed was good, but one was never sure of missing the stumps. We were now in the Stockbridge settlement, where the log houses were rather near together for farms. There were many stumps in the very streets of Stockbridge, and as they were covered with snow it was an easy thing to hit one. One of them upset us at Fowler's very gate.

We were well cared for at the Fowlers'. The next morning we again took an early start—so early that the stumps in the road were no more visible than the night previous. 254 We had driven but a few rods when again we upset. I was thrown against a stump and one arm was hurt, though no bones were broken. The pain from the injury, however, was severe. I was carried into a little hut, where the people were just rising, and placed on a bed which some very untidy-appearing folk had just vacated. I would have preferred the floor. We finally set out again, reaching the home of our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Perry,¹ at Taycheedah, that afternoon. We arrived in time to enjoy one of Mrs. Perry's famous dinners. I will not attempt to tell of the warmth with which these friends met us. How wholesome and grateful such meetings are! They seemed as glad to see us as we to see them. We spent two days at Taycheedah. Our good friend, Mrs. Beall, lived there at that time. We were guests of Mr. and Mrs. Perry the first day. The second day we spent with Mrs. Beall; her husband was absent. The third day we went to Fond du Lac. At that time Taycheedah was the larger. We made but a short call on Dr. Mason C. Darling, the only acquaintance we had at Fond du Lac.²

¹ Nathaniel Perry was one of the first settlers of Taycheedah, of which he was also the first postmaster. At the time of Mrs. Baird's visit, he kept the principal hotel.— Ed.

² In 1844 Darling gave the site for a county court house at Fond du Lac; this proved a death-blow to Taycheedah, which before that time was the larger settlement of the two. It is now a small hamlet.— Ed.

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We left Fond du Lac for the Fox-Wisconsin portage, taking in Waupun and Fox Lake on the way. At Portage or Fort Winnebago, we met friends—Capt. and Mrs. Gideon Low, who had previously been stationed at Fort Howard, while Captain Low was in the army. We found him at a large hotel which he owned. Their daughter, Elizabeth Low, was soon to marry our friend, Henry Merrell, of Portage. Here we had to call a physician to attend to my arm. He discovered that my collar bone was fractured.

The day following our arrival we had many gentlemen callers. On the third day we left for Madison. On our 255 arrival there we found the legislature in session, and the usual gaieties of the capital under full sway.

We drove to the American House, which stood on the north corner of Washington avenue and Pinckney street, where the First National Bank now stands. The landlord, Col. James Morrison, told us that the house was more than full, and that he could not accommodate us. However, we were not to be disposed of so easily. Our gentlemen said if only beds could be provided for the ladies, they would sleep anywhere on the floor, making a bed of their buffalo robes. There was a Southern gentleman, a State officer (I have forgotten the office that he filled), whose daughter was with him, but, as it chanced at this time, she was absent. The landlord gave us her room. We certainly felt very grateful for the favor. Before supper we went to the room, and found it very small. We prepared for supper, and left the room, not even whispering to each other our thoughts about its dimensions.

After supper we had a call from Theophile la Chappelle, brother of the first Mrs. Mitchell. He was a member of the legislature, a bright and intellectual young man, and an agreeable talker. His sister, Mrs. Mitchell, had died the December previous, and his desire to see me was great, knowing the friendship that existed between her and myself. Poor young man! He became insane soon after this, and spent the remainder of his life at the Hospital for the Insane, near Madison.

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We received a great many callers, as Mr. Baird knew all the members of the legislature. Among them was Charles C. P. Arndt; and as he was a Green Bay boy, we enjoyed his call very much. He was naturally of a rather serious turn of mind, but that night he was very full of fun. He was elated at seeing friends from home, and coming to my side he sat down by me and asked innumerable questions about his wife and children. I was glad to tell him all I knew. His two little daughters were winsome and pretty. He said: "I will write to my wife. The news you have given me has made me very happy. It is the next thing to receiving 256 a letter from her." Poor boy! It was only about two weeks later that he was fatally shot, while in the council chamber, by James R. Vineyard, member of the council from Grant County. Arndt was a member from Brown County. As he was shot he fell at the feet of his father, Judge John P. Arndt, who was also a member of the same council. We had just returned to Green Bay from our trip to Madison, when his remains were brought home for burial. His tragic death darkened forever the lives of his widow and two daughters, the former remaining in widowhood throughout her life. He had planned a happy home for his family, having erected the main part of the building which is now occupied by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

But I must resume my story of our stay at the American House. After spending a pleasant evening with friends, we ascended to what was called the "school section," where our room was situated. Why it was so called I know not.¹

¹ The United States government granted to each Western state, when organized, out of the federal domain, the sixteenth section in each township, to be sold for the endowment of schools. This "school section" was generally reserved from sale until the county was settled. It remained vacant, for a time, therefore, often in the immediate vicinity, or indeed in the midst, of a fast growing community. This gave rise to the term "school section" being facetiously applied to generally-unused or outlying portions of large buildings—for instance, the garret of a frontier hotel, which would be called into service only when the advent of a crowd of customers compelled its use.— Ed.

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Our gentlemen had not yet seen our sleeping room. When they were admitted into it, the expression of their countenances was indescribable. We four could scarcely stand in it. What were we to do about lying down in it? The old proverb, "Necessity is the mother of invention," we found to be true. Let me describe the room. Abed, not a large one, stood with the back and head touching the walls, and the foot of the bed was about three or four feet from the other end of the room. In front of the bed, against the other wall, was a washstand, a trunk, and a chair, and near the door stood a very small stove.

Governor Doty's Residence, in Madison (From Thwaites's *University of Wisconsin* .)

The Old Capitol (From Thwaite's *University of Wisconsin* .)

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Just imagine us in this room, making plans for the night. We ladies were seated on the edge of the bed; one gentleman occupied the chair, the other the trunk. Of course, we ladies were to have the bed, but what were the gentlemen to do? was the question. There was not room enough in front of the bed for them to lie down. A happy thought came to Mr. Bruce: "We will spread our buffalo robes under the bed, and we can have our heads against the wall." All was arranged as planned, Mr. Baird feeling well satisfied with the arrangement. The gentlemen went off for the robes and we retired. They soon returned and began to fix their bed. They were a great while about it, and we felt they were very awkward. I think by this time Mrs. Bruce wished to jump out of bed and help them; for the gentlemen, growing somewhat impatient, were not as particular in their language as they would have been under other circumstances. At last they said, "It is of no use, these robes will not spread out." The bedstead was so low that they could not look under it without a light, so they took up the greasy whale oil lamp and set it on the floor. On looking under the bed, a large, long box was discovered. It was made of plain boards, with a cover not fastened. The gentlemen were very curious to see its contents. Two canvas-covered hams were revealed. The shouts of laughter that followed, must have been heard all through the "school section." After the investigation the box was pushed back as far as possible, and

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the buffalo robes were spread down. Mr. Baird being short, could lie under the bed; but Mr. Bruce, being tall, had to lie outside on the floor. Almost as soon as they had assumed a horizontal position they were asleep; I had anticipated that there was to be no sleep, as it was far into the night before quiet settled down in the room.

The next morning the gentlemen declared they had slept well, and the day found us all bright and happy. We took a final leave of the room, not desiring to spend another such night as the previous one had been. We concluded the best thing we could do, was to continue on our journey. 18

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Before leaving Madison, I must describe the capitol of Wisconsin, as I first saw it. It was a very small and squatty-looking house, having so much the appearance of an inverted wash bowl that it was called "Doty's wash bowl." The dome of the present capitol covers the site of the old building. A common rail fence surrounded the grounds. The city in that early day was not crowded. The legislature was then the sole motive that brought people to Madison, and everyone was expected to entertain the members throughout the entire session.

In the morning of our departure from Madison, we made the acquaintance of two young gentlemen who were on their way to Janesville. They were journeying in a cutter. We joined forces, traveling together. The gentlemen both bore the name of Wright, though not bound by any tie but that of friendship. One, as we later learned, was on a journey of love; the other was only a looker-on. The sleighing was fine, and with these young spirits our ride was one of pleasure. We reached Janesville in due time, and there we found a friend of Mr. Baird's awaiting us. Gen. William B. Sheldon seemed at that time to be almost the sole occupant of the town of Janesville, as there were not a half-dozen houses there besides his. There was no hotel of any kind: but that made no difference to us, as the General had kindly invited us to be his guests. The house, I think, was of one story. It was large on the ground, with a wide porch in front, and was painted white, with

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green blinds. We were taken to this delightful home by its genial host, who acted as usher upon our arrival there, conducting us to our different rooms, and informing us that supper would be ready as soon as we wished it. As we were very hungry, our toilets took but little time. We found our rooms delightful, large, and warm; I believe they were heated by fire-places. Certainly they formed a striking contrast to our room of the night before, at the American House at Madison. The gentlemen, after a few touches, were ready for supper. As we came out of our rooms, properly paired, we met the General, who led us 259 to the parlor. And here, to our great surprise, we met *our compagnons du voyage*. They were seated with the two beautiful young daughters of the host. One was the *fiancée* of George Wright. I assure you that the surprise was not received in silence. It afforded much sport throughout the remainder of our visit. I believe these lovely girls had no mother, nor can I remember any brother.

Miss Sheldon and Mr. Wright were married the next spring or summer. They lived in Racine, where, in a few years after, Mr. Wright died of softening of the brain. I have been told that Mrs. Wright, after some years, married again and lived in Chicago. General Sheldon I never saw again after this visit, though Mr. Baird met him often at Madison, where every gentleman went for his country's good.¹ During our stay the General took us through the country round about. I was going to say the town, but there was no town there, as yet.

¹ Henry S. Baird was president of the territorial council, in 1836, and member of the first constitutional convention, 1846. William B. Sheldon was a member of the lower house, in the territorial legislatures of 1836 and 1837–38.— Ed.

We were taken to Beloit, which then was a very small place. Had we gone in the proper season, there was a chance in the city limits to find the berries for which the city of Beloit is named—the huckleberry. The French called it *au beloît*.² On the following day we bade our new but kind friends good-by, little dreaming it was a final one.

2 See *History of Rock County* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1879), pp. 614, 615, for another version of the origin of the term.— Ed.

We drove from Janesville to Elkhorn, in Walworth County, to visit a brother of Mrs. Bruce, who was living on a farm. We also visited at Delavan. Here the great event of our journey took place. We reached Mr. Valentine's late in the day, and found only the ladies and an elderly gentleman at home. When Mrs. Bruce inquired for "the boys," the reply was that they would soon be in. "They had gone to hunt deer." This implied to me that they must have gone a long way off. Soon, however, we 260 heard tramping about the house; "the boys" had come and were in good spirits, as they had brought home two deer. They came right in with their hunters' dress, which was white. The stories of their hunt were very exciting. They told of the number of herds of deer they had met, and how they could chase them without the animals taking fright. The stories were so very exciting that we quite forgot to eat our supper, although we were hungry and the meal was excellent. We went to the table, but we did not allow "the boys" much chance to eat, we had so many questions to ask.

"The boys," who were nearly all married men, were very enthusiastic in describing the whole affair. As we progressed with this very cheerful meal, they began to think we did not believe the whole story. Mrs. Bruce did not hesitate to tell them she did not. They began to banter us, and said they would take us to the hunt if we would go. As a matter of course we all wanted to go. We were furnished with sheets, which we were to put on over our cloaks and wrappings, and we were to make ourselves as white as possible. The men wore regular suits, made of white cotton, both trousers and coats. As our gentlemen only went to look on, they did not wear white trousers. Before we started, I made the gentlemen promise that they would not kill a deer, as they had all the venison that they needed. They replied that they would not kill one, but would shoot at the last, or we would not see the best of the sport.

We started soon after a seven o'clock breakfast. The three sleighs were all made as white as possible; even the black horse had a sheet on him. Our phantom procession made no noise, the state of the snow making it possible. Imagine the picture: three white sleighs with their loads of white, gliding along through the beautiful oak openings. Some may not know what an oak opening is: it is a tract of land covered with large trees, but without underbrush. The one I am writing of, had very large trees of all the kinds of hard wood of this country. As we rode along, we were all on the alert. We had gone but a little ways when 261 we came in sight of a large herd of deer. As we looked at them there seemed to be hundreds of them. As soon as they spied us they stopped quite still, all turning the same way and gazing at us. We, of course, did not stir, we hardly seemed to breathe. They gave us ample time to admire them, collectively and individually. Such a sight one can expect to see but once in a life time. Finally, they seemed to scent danger, and away they went. Their fleetness was marvelous. We also sped along rapidly, but were soon left far behind; one would have thought the hunt over. But it is the characteristic of those beautiful animals to return on their track, as if to see what is going on. This peculiarity our hosts knew, and were prepared for their return. Soon we saw them coming back. They had divided, and that made the number seem even greater. There seemed to be hundreds on each side of us, making the same graceful, thrillingly beautiful picture as before. The delight of such a chase and scene cannot be told. As the hour of noon approached, "the boys" felt we must go home. We then drove around so as to get the herd into as small a compass as possible. The animals were quietly standing, when one of the sportsmen fired his gun into the air. At this they bounded away, more fleetly than before, and where there had seemed to be hundreds at first, there now seemed to be thousands. The parting view we had of these dainty, graceful creatures was more than beautiful; it was grand.

Now I must briefly conclude the narrative of our visit with these our hospitable hosts and hostesses. The day following the hunt was made one of rest and recreation for household and guests. The ladies had a variety of work to show us, such as nimble fingers love to do.

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There were patch-work quilts and woven quilts, spun yarn, socks, stockings, etc., much more than that family could need.

We had a drive through the surrounding country, going to Delavan, which then was not much more than a name. Again, we had to take farewell of our friends, some of whom I met again as guests of Mrs. Bruce. But it has 262 been long years since then. I do not know that any of the members of the family are living.

We started from Elkhorn on a fine morning, with a new fall of snow, to go to Racine. I cannot now tell the distance between the two places. Only a few uncleared farms were to be seen in the distance, on the right and left, as we drove along. Mr. Bruce was so well acquainted with the country that he did not hesitate to take a straight course from one place to another. As we drove along on that day in February, the surroundings were beautiful, though one sheet of snow covered the country over. It seems to me now that there was never anything more beautiful than that part of this State. We were on an extended prairie, with trees in the distance. Our spirits were bouyant, and I, though not well, enjoyed everything in turn.

We reached Racine that afternoon, but I was not well enough to go to Kenosha. Our gentlemen drove over there and returned with Mrs. Blish, afterwards Mrs. William Strong, of Kenosha, and her sister, Miss Mary Irwin, now Mrs. Mitchell, of Chicago. We were all invited to Col. Thomas J. Cram's, where we passed a delightful evening. Our lady friends returned to Kenosha that same evening. The next day we left for Milwaukee, where we remained for a day. We had no acquaintances there at that time. My eyes now began to trouble me, the snow having been very trying on them. On the second day we left for Sheboygan, and on our arrival there I was entirely snow blind. I was very anxious to get into the quiet of my own home. We made short stops at Manitowoc and Kewaunee, but there was little at either place.

Between Kewaunee and Green Bay we came to a hill so steep in the descent that it seemed as though the sleigh must tip over the horses. Mr. Bruce stopped, and, upon talking the matter over, it was finally decided that we could not drive down that hill. What were we to do? I suggested, as a jest, that we should roll down, little thinking when I spoke how it would turn out. We ladies started 263 to walk down, but we could not stand up, and as we fell we could only get up by rolling over once or twice, before getting on our feet. As this happened frequently, we considered that we must have rolled at least half of the way down hill. The gentlemen fared better, as they held on to the sleigh, and it enabled them to descend without trouble.

At last we reached our home and found all of the dear ones well, except our young housekeeper; she had been indulging her taste for buckwheat cakes, which had so changed her complexion as to greatly alarm us at first sight. Our relief was great when the cause was discovered.

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A METHODIST CIRCUIT RIDER'S HORSEBACK TOUR FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO WISCONSIN, 1835. BY ALFRED BRUNSON, D. D.¹

¹ Alfred Brunson, D. D., author of this journal, is said to have been "the first Methodist minister who set foot on the soil north of the Wisconsin River." He was born in Danbury, Conn., February 9, 1793. Seven years later the family moved to Sing Sing, N. Y., where the father was drowned in 1806; the mother returned to Danbury with her seven children, and apprenticed Alfred to a shoemaker. But being an inveterate reader, although with little scholastic training, ambition grew in him, and while still a cobbler he studied law. In 1809, having become "awakened" at a Methodist revival, he was licensed as an exhorter. In 1811 he was married, and settled on an Ohio farm. Two years later he entered the army for a year, and was at the taking of Malden and the retaking of Detroit. Returning home, he was, in 1815, licensed to preach, and had long labored successfully in Ohio and Pennsylvania, when he felt called to become a missionary to the Indians on the

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Upper Mississippi River; and the interesting journal herewith presented is a record of his overland horseback tour from Meadville, Pa., to his new location at Prairie du Chien, Wis. Upon arrival, he was made presiding elder and Indian missionary of a district extending from Rock Island, Ill., to the head of the Mississippi River. In 1839, ill health caused Mr. Brunson to abandon the ministry for a time, and for ten years he held various official positions and practised law; in 1840, we find him in the territorial legislature; in 1842 he was appointed Indian agent at La Pointe, on Lake Superior; in 1850, after a defeat for a judgeship, he returned to the ministry of his church, and two years later became presiding elder of the Prairie du Chien district. For a time, commencing with 1862, he was a chaplain in the Union army, but resigned because of ill health, and finally retired from active labors in 1872. His wife had died in 1846. Dr. Brunson was fond of historical research, wrote much for both the secular and the religious press, was the author of numerous articles in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, and published two books: *A Western Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1872), in two vols., and *Key to the Apocalypse* (Cincinnati, 1881). He died Aug. 3, 1886, in the ninetieth year of his age. His early journals and letter-books are in the possession of this Society. One of his MS. books contains the journal here published, which appears to have been written after the events narrated.— Ed.

Sept. 9 th 1835 . Having made preparations, I left my family, in Meadville, Pa. and an endearing circle of friends & acquaintances, to go on a Mission to the Indians on the Upper Mississippi, accompanied by Wellington Weigley. Bro. Weigley was one of the young men whom I had introduced into the Ministry, having employed him one year before he was admitted on trial, & he being his 2 d year on trial at this time.

I took the thills from my one horse wagon, and putting a tongue to it, we attached both our horses, took our saddles, bridles, saddle-bags &c. all which made but a light load. He designed to accompany me to the Illinois conf. to which 265 we had both been transfered, & which, was to meet on the 1 st of Oct. ensuing, & as much farther as his appointment would admit of.

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To leave home under such circumstances, & with such an object in view, was attended with feelings & reflections of the most solemn character. The distance to the nearest Indians I expected to visit, was about 900 miles, to visit whom, & to select a site for the location of my family, would occupy 5 or 6 months, & cost me about 2000 miles travel; a good part of which must be performed in the dead of winter. Some of this time I must be seperated from all white or civilized society, & the remainder of the time mostly among strangers.

Nature *had* shrunk from the task; but I stood reproved. The fur trader, the Indian agent & the Military officer & soldier had went farther for the purposes of commerce, war & worldly business; And to think that the Ministers of Religion should be unwilling to brook the difficulties these men do, (for the sake of *money* ,) for the sake of *saving souls* , is enough to cause the blush of shame.

I was also lame, & unable to walk at the time, only with crutches, from an injury I received in the heel a few weeks before. But being inspired by views & feelings, produced, 266 as I trust, by the influence of the Divine Spirit, I moved forward with the elacraty usual to one conscious of being in the path of duty.

We travelled 25 miles between 2 & 8 oclock P.M. And lodged at Bro. Parkers in Kinsman, Ohio. Here we found a gracious work of God in progress, it being the time of a protracted meeting. Some 30 souls had then been at [the] alter, several of whom had found pardon. We left the meeting in progress, tho' much in want of ministerial help. (I did not go to the meeting house myself, on account of my lameness; but Bro. Weigley went tho' we arrived so late, & gave an exhortation, &c.)

The circumstances under which the house in which this meeting was held, was erected, & came into the hands of the Methodists, shows the mysterious ways of Providence. The town of Kinsman, like all others on the Connecticut Western Reserve, is laid off 5 miles square. The roads are usually laid off at right angles, which the levelness of the country

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admits of to advantage, & the *centre* is the usual site for meeting house, school house &c. There, was, however, a diviation from this, in this town, owing to local circumstances.

M r . Kinsman, the original proprietor of the town, settled 1½ miles south west of the centre, which of course, became the place of business, & centre of social operations. Here the Presbyterians built a large & elegant church, designed for the accomodation of all the members of that church in the town. But a part of them, residing north & east of this point objected to having the house thus one side, & refused to aid in its errection on that site. The friends of this site, however, being more wealthy tho' less numerous than their opponents, succeded in their design.

Upon this the other party assembled, raised funds & built another house, less spacious than the other, but sufficiently so to accomodate those it was designed for. They found, however, that it was difficult if not impossible to get preacher of their order to serve them. They were considered schismatics, & therefore not to be countinanced.

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Under these circumstances, rather than have *no* preaching, they applied to the Methodist preachers, who, being commissioned to preach the gospel to every human creature, & whether right or wrong about the building of the house, they had souls to save, & were, therefore, objects of our persuite. They were preached to, & soon after a society of near 100 members was raised, & the house was settled upon trustees according to our deed of settlement. And at this time the circuit was so arranged as to give them preaching every Sabbath.¹

¹ Kinsman is now (1900) a post-village in Trumbull County, Ohio, with four churches, an academy, a chair-factory, and several other small industries; population of the township, in 1890, was 1,029.— Ed.

Sept. 10 th . Proceeding on our way, we called at my old friends, W m . Parish, in Hubbard, for dinner. As I expected, Bro. Parish objected seriously to my leaving the

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country. "Let others, & younger men go," said he, "but stay you here & take care of the churches you have so long been laboring to build up in the faith of the gospel." It is certainly much more congenial to ones feelings to see people regret, rather than rejoice at my going from them. Yet it was painful to my feelings to see *them* afflicted at the course I had taken.

My horse being lame, & showing signs of being unable to perform the journey, I exchanged him for another, giving \$15, to boot. This was the only time I had traded or exchanged horses in *seven* years. And such is my utter aversion to ministers trading in horse flesh, that I should not now have done so, but for the extrem necessary of the case.

We reached Canfield this night and lodged with Bro. Elihu Warner. I was not long here before I was surrounded by old friends, one of whom, Sister Starr, dandled me upon her knee when I was a babe, in Danbury, conn., more than 42 years ago.

Sept. 11 th . Arrived at New Lisbon, stoped at Bro: Corbets. We proposed a Missionary meeting, which was agreed to, on condition we would ask for no money. But 268 as there had never been a meeting of the kind in the place, tho' there was a soc y of over 100 members, & a population of near 3000 souls,¹ I felt disposed to hold one, for the purpose of diffusing the Missionary Spirit, even tho' we got no collection. We found the Spirit of benevolence here, however, & as soon as the cause of Missions & the duty of Christians to support them was spread before their minds, the congregation, tho' small, contributed nobly, for their number & the notice they had received.

¹ New Lisbon, a village (1890) of 2,278 souls (less than credited to it by the diarist, in 1835), is now the capital of Columbiana county, Ohio. It has 6 churches, a number of small mills and factories, and issues three weekly papers.— Ed.

Sept. 12 th . We passed over the ridge through which the Sandy & Beaver Canal is to pass by a tunnel about 90 feet below the road, near Hanover. In digging the Canal near this town (Hanover) the workman found most of the bones of a mammoth of the largest

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size ever yet found. The Rev. Alcinus Young measured the teeth, the Jaw & several other bones; and allowing the proportions to be the same as those of the ox or cow, this animal must have been [blank in MS.] feet long.

We passed down the beautiful valley of Sandy cr[ee]k now containing several thriving villages, growing upon the line of the Canal, & reached Judge [blank in MS.] at Sandyville, where we spent the Sabbath, each preaching once to the people.

Sept. 14th Monday: Passing through New Phil a . we dined at Gnattenhuten. This place is rendered famous in the history of Missions, from its being the site of an old Moravian Indian Mission, & the place where 92 pious Indians were inhumanly murdered, by a marauding party of whites, under the command of Col. Williams, in March 1782.² After 2 Gnadenhüten and Schönbrunn were two villages built for Christian Indians in 1772, by the Moravian missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewelder. They were both on the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, the former in the outskirts of the present white town of that name, in Clay township, and the latter higher up, about three miles southeast of the present New Philadelphia, in what now is Goshen township, Tuscarawas County, O. Details of this shocking massacre,—in which ninety peaceful Indian converts (29 men, 27 women, and 34 children) were slaughtered like cattle, by being knocked in the head with a cooper's mallet,—may be found in Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Cincinnati, 1895 ed.), pp. 319–327. The leader of the marauding expedition was David Williamson, colonel of one of the militia battalions of Washington County, Pa.— Ed.

269 dinner we walked over the ground on which their village stood, & surveyed, with mournful reflections, the remains of their dwellings & the spot so ignobly stained by the, blood of *American Martyrs* . The holes of their cellars are yet visible & the width & course of the streets can be traced out, but nature seeming to be ashamed of this act of worse than Savage cruelty, has caused a thick growth of under brush, plumb trees & some stately oaks to hide it from the view of the present traveller.

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Viewing this consecrated spot of earth with the eye of a Missionary, bound too, to the same race of aborigines, & having just before read the history of their Missions among these natives, in which a detailed account of this circumstance is given, I felt like stepping light upon the ashes of those Saints of God. We found corn which was burnt at the time, with the houses, & being in a charcoal, it had not decayed. We took several carnels, a few of which I intend to deposit in Museum of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

We reached a tavern 4 miles from Coshockton, at the foot of a high & rough hill, some time after dark, & were obliged to stay with a drunken Land Lord. On his premises were strong sytoms of *silver ore* .

Sept. 15. We passed down the valley of the Muskingum, which, including that of the Tuscarawes, contains some of the best land in the State of Ohio. We dined at Dresdon & lodged at Sister Thompsons between Irvill & Newark.

16 th . Stoped in Newark, & held a Missionary meeting, but, notwithstanding we had a larger congregation than in New Lisbon, the collection was but about half as much.¹

¹ Newark is now a place of about 3,000 inhabitants.— Ed.

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17 th . We reached Reynoldsburgh, on the National Road. Here my two youngest brothers live, one of whom I had not seen for 19 years, & the other but once in that length of time. In this neighborhood I have a sister whom I had not seen in 19 years, & an other whom I had not seen in 27 years. It would seem as if nature would lose its endearing tie or forget its kindred feeling in that length of time: but this was not the case. And a visit of a few days amply restored the affections of nature to their wonted strength, from the dilepadation which time may have made.¹

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1 Referring to this reunion, in his *Western Pioneer*, vol. ii, p. 28, Mr. Brunson says: "Our meetings were pleasant, of course, but nothing peculiar or different from that of other folks."— Ed.

Sept. 20. Sabbath. Preached twice in Columbus, O.2 & lifted a collection for Missions of \$26.62.

2 Columbus was then a city (it had been incorporated in 1834) of about 3,000 inhabitants, and rapidly growing.— Ed.

21 *st* . Left columbus, & in about 5 miles lost my saddle baggs, which, from the roughness of road, were jolted out of the wagon behind; but did not discover the loss till 13 miles after. Bro. Weigley took another horse, leaving ours to rest, & went back for them. A traveller had found them & carried them back to Columbus, where they were obtained. It would have been a serious loss, not to have recovered them. They contained most of my money, and valuable papers, & all my change of clothing I had with me. He returned with them 10 oclock at night.

Sept. 22. Soon after we started, we broke our double tree, in a mud hole. This we mended with a with[e] & a pole which we cut with our hatchet, & drove 300 miles with it, before we could conveniently get a new one. The roads through Ohio & Indiana were extreemly bad.

Passing through Springfield, we lodged at an inn 7 miles a head.

23 *d* . Passing through Dayton, we reached Alexander.

24 *th* . Went through Eaton, & several little towns, & reached Milton, Indiana, some time after dark. The country & the people began to assume a rougher appearance than they before had done.

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25 *th* . We got on to the National Road, then building, but the late rains & immense travel, made the road intolerable. Some times we were obliged to take the woods to escape the mud, & even there travellers often got stuck fast. The tide of emigration is very great. We pass from 10 to 30 moving wagons a day, with droves of cattle & sheep, mostly going to Illinois. Lodged in Greenfield.

26 *th* . Passed through Indianapolis, the capital of Indiana. and reached Belleville, where we spent the Sabbath, each preaching once, & taking up a small collection for Missions.

28 *th* . Going through Greencastle, we lodged at a farm house where they took all the feed from our horses, after we went to bed.¹

¹ *Western Pioneer*, ii, pp. 28–30. The host, Brunson thought, seeing that their guests were preachers, expected no pay; so made only a feint at entertaining their horses.— Ed.

29 *th* . We reached Clinton, on the Wabash, & lodged with a friend. Here my new horse had become so lame, & stiff with the scratches, that I was obliged to exchange again. I this night took a severe cold, with which I was afflicted for several weeks.

30. Through Paris, Ill. & onto the grand Prairie where it was 15 miles to the first house. This is one of the most delightful views in the world. I had often heard tell of these Prairies. I had seen them, tho' small, in Ohio & Michigan, but the half had never been told me. Except the few wet places which carry off the water, it affords the best natural road I ever saw, and when these “wets” are bridged & the road through them turnpiked they will exceed any road in the world, having no more work done to them.

We reached a cabin, with 3 moving wagons, containing 27 persons. The cabin was not over 18 feet square, with a bed room attached to it, & in & about it 40 persons lodged that night.

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Oct. 1. Travilled 15 miles to the first house, where we took breakfast—15 miles to the next, then 23 miles further, making 53 miles. But this was too much for Bro. Weigleys horse, after having travelled so far. He gave out.

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Oct. 2 d. Reached Springfield,¹ Sangamon co. Illinois, and found the conf. 2 days in session. We were much fatiagued, having travelled 630 miles in about 3 weeks.

¹ At this time Springfield was a town with perhaps 1,500 inhabitants, and the largest settlement in Illinois, except Jacksonville, which claimed 1,600.—Cf. Moses's *Illinois* (Chicago, 1889), p. 431. It was not selected as the capital of the state until 1837.— Ed.

3 d. Went into conf. presented our transfers & were introduced to the conf. by Bishop Roberts.² Here we met Brethren Mack, Hitchcock, & Whitney who had transfered from Pittsburgh. The sight of old acquaintences & friends, in this distant land, was cheering to our spirits. Some of the members I also had seen at Gen. Conf. in Phil a . in 1832; otherwise they were strangers, but I soon found they were brethren, & engaged in the same common cause.

² Robert Richford Roberts, born 1778, died 1843.— Ed.

Oct. 4 th. Sabbath. Heard several excellent sermons, witnessed the ordinations, & preached at night, & concluded by calling up 8 or 10 mourners to the alter for prayers.

5 th. The conference Missionary Society held its anniversary. "Theophilus Armenius" & myself were the speakers. But such is the excentricity of that remarkable genius, that it is impossible to follow him in a speech with any degree of satisfaction. He ranged the world from its creation to its end, & talked, in broken fragments, a little about every thing connected with the spread of the gospel. *He* had the attention of the people, but it was

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hard to get that attention after he had done. The meeting, however turned off in good stile. The cause of Missions is begining to be appreciated in every part of the church.

6. I had intended to keep clear of committee business, if posible, at this conf. having had my part in Pittsburgh. But before I was aware, I was on three or 4 committees, as was usual in my old conf. And before conf. rose I had 4 written reports in my hands at once ready to be presented.

7 *th* . crowded yet more with committee business, growing out of a difficulty between two preachers, but succeding in getting a reconciliation between them, we were discharged from further trouble about it.

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8 *th* . Bishop tho't best to give me charge of *Galena Mission Dist* .¹ in connection with my mission to the Indians. The Dist. lies on the extreem of the white settlements, within which my family must be located, & contains only 5 appointments. This would occupy but 5 weeks out of 13 to attend to their quarterly meetings, & leave 8 to explore the Indian country.

¹ "A district," says Brunson in *Western Pioneer*, ii, p. 31, "extending from Rock Island to St. Anthony's Falls, five hundred miles long, including all the settlements on both sides of the Mississippi River, and about. seventy miles wide. Dubuque, however, was the only settlement west of the river."— Ed.

9, & 10. Rested, & wrote letters.

11. *Sabbath*. —Preached to a large & attentive congregation.

Oct. 12. Started for Galena, to which Bro. Weigley was appointed.² But we soon found that his mare could not travel so far as to do us, & at 18 miles we stopped at a friends & he exchanged horses.

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2 Later, Weigley became a member of the Galena bar.— Ed.

13 *th* . Travelled 43 miles through a beautiful Prairie country, & lodged with a half backslidden professor.

14. Reached the Illinois River at Peoria. In reaching the river we descended hills, from the common level of the Prairie, which were about 500 feet above the level of the river. After the descent, we passed over a rich river bottom covered with wood, but the crops on the cleared fields did not look as bountiful, as they did on the Prairie land. The Prairie, therefore, appeared to be richer than the river bottoms.

We ferried the river, at the outlet or mouth of Illinois Lake, where the River is narrower than at any other point from the Rapids to the mouth, being only about 150 yards wide. A company is incorporated to build a bridge here. This town will no doubt be a place of great business,³ but, at present there is the most shaving, the highest prices, & the least accommodations of any place of the size I was ever in. We had travelled 50 miles to get to a blacksmith, 19

3 Now a city of about 50,000 inhabitants.— Ed.

274 to shew Bro. Weigley's horse, but of two smiths, nothing could be done for us. We had to travel 24 miles farther, crooking about, to two smiths more, & finally got it done at Chilicothe, 18 miles up the River, or at the head of Ill. Lake.

At this place (Peoria) I saw a new patent hard mill. The stones were 2 feet in diameter, the upper one 15 inches thick, & both went, but contrary ways, by the same crank & cog wheel. The spindle was hollow, one working inside of the other like the posts of a watch or clock. The whole frame, including hopper, box, stones & all did not occupy more than about 5 feet square & as many high. A very little water power would turn it, as it could be turned by hand to grind considerably fast.

South & east of this River the Prairie country is generally level, or nearly so. But north of this, it assumes a more rolling or undulating form. South of it, the country affords but few stone. In the banks of the large streams are some times found quarries, about 100 feet below the common level of the country. But upon the plains no stone are visible, except here and there a primitive rock, called in this country "lost rock." There are on an average about one to a 100 or 160 acres, & are supposed to have been thrown here by the action of the water in the deluge. Stone coal is abundant on this River, & by a slip of the bank, a little above Chillicothe, a stratum of coal was laid bare, 36 feet in depth; an other 6 feet in depth.

South of this River the Streams of water are sluggish, & very few mill seats can be found. But north of it the land becoming rolling the water falls more than below, & mill seats become more plenty.

At this place we entered the scene of the Indian, or Black Hawk war, of 1832. The stockades & forts were yet visible. The one at this place was called fort Clark. The Potewattimies were just on the move for their new home west of the Mississippi.¹

¹ By treaty concluded at Chicago, Sept, 26, 1833, the united nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawattomie Indians ceded their lands along the west shore of Lake Michigan, and agreed to move to a reservation of five million acres on the Missouri River. It took several years to effect the removal.— Ed.

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Oct. 15. Left Elbow creek where we lodged, after breakfast, & travelled 20 miles to the first house. The road led over a beautiful roiling Prairie. Here we stoped & fed our selves & beast. At table we had 4 Presbyterian preachers who had been to a camp meeting, with several of their friends. I expressed a little surprise that *they* should hold camp meetings! "Why," said one of them "Camp Meetings began with us, & I should be sorry to lose or give

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them up now." They said that about 30 professed to obtain religion.—We paid \$1.00 for our dinners & horse feed. Two of us.

We went from this to Beaurio or Robinsons River, & through Princeton, & to *Dad Joe Smiths* that night 35 miles further, making 55 that day. The last 12 miles we travelled after sundown, & by fire light over Prairie, it being on fire. This was the grandest scene I ever saw, the wind blew a gale all day, the grass was dry, & the fire being in the Prairie, at a distance, where we entered it some men were kindling fire to burn it away from their fences & then let it run—no odds who it burnt up. As the dark came on, the fire shone more brilliant. A cloud of smoke arose on which the fire below shone, & the reflection could be seen for miles—in some instances 40. We passed 3 different fires in this 12 miles, having to turn out & get round them when they reached the road. The wind blew across our road, & the *long* ways of the fire was with the wind, in which direction it went nearly as fast as the wind. But when a streak was run, in the direction of the wind, then the fire worked side ways. By this means we had in view at one time from one to 5 miles of fire in a streak, burning from 2 to 6 feet high. In *high* grass it sometimes burns 30 feet high, if driven by fierce winds. By the light of this fire we could read fine print for a mile or more. And the light reflected from the cloud of smoke, enlightened our road for miles after the blaze of the fire was out of sight.

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Till I saw this, I could never so well understand one part of the scripture. The cloud which overspread the camp of Israel & kept off the rays of the sun by day, was a *pillar of fire by night*. It was literally so with the smoke which rose from these fires. By day the cloud was often so dense & so great, as to hide the sun from the view of the traveller, but by night this same cloud would reflect the light which shone on it from below, so as to enlighten the country for miles around it. The reason why the cloud over the camp of Israel gave light, was, because the glory of God, which rested in the tabernacle, shone upon it.

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Before we reached our lodgings, Bro. Weigleys horse gave out & attempted to lie down, apparently with the cholic, tho' probably from fatiague. We had to walk him about 4 miles, —Weigley on foot by his side. When we reached the place the people were in bed. She got up, however, & gave us some supper.

Oct. 16. We were obliged to take it more moderate, on account of the sick horse. We passed more burning Prairies, & large quantities of lost or primitive Rock scatered over the Prairies. And where they were burnt they could be more easily discerned.

We left the most beaten road, to take a new one, said to be much nearer than the old one. We crossed Rock River at Bushes ferry, 5 miles below Dixon's, but we paid dear for our saving. It was with difficulty we got any thing to eat our selves, but could get nothing but Prairie hay & pumpkins for our horses. It began to rain on us, & at length blew a gale. Dark came on before we reached a house. At lighth we reached a Hixite quakers, where we fared very well our selves, but our horses had no stable or shed to break off the storm & nothing but Prairie hay to eat.

Oct 17 th . We started with the break of day, & travelled 6 miles before we could get any grain for our horses, or breakfast for our selves. We passed through one of the most beautiful groves, this morning, we had seen in all the Prairie country. It was 6 miles thro' it, & composed of 277 young thrifty timber, on the waters of Elkhorn creek (Dogs head on the Map.)

Here we learned a little of the ways of settling this new country.¹ The lands had been surveyed into townships, but not into sections, & of course not yet in Market. About 40 families had settled themselves about this grove. They had, in the absence of all other law, met & made a law for themselves. They have surveyed the township & ascertained that section 16, the school section, was within the grove, & they staked it off & appointed commissioners to take care of it, preserve the timber &c. so as to make it valuable as possible when the township should be regularly settled according to law. They had also

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meted & bounded every mans *wood land* , allowing each family 40 acres of timber, & as much Prairie as he pleased to take up. Timber being the great disideratum of the country, they would not allow any one man to monopolise. Forty acres was thought to be sufficient timber land, to make & sustain the fence, buildings & fires of a farm.

1 *In Western Pioneer*, ii, p. 33, the author says: "At Elkhorn Grove we stopped for breakfast, before taking a twelve-mile prairie, at what we afterwards found to be a backslidden deacon's. We did not think it necessary to announce our profession for so short a stay and from not seeing any thing like religion about the premises. Being curious to know how the settlers managed to secure their lands when they came into market, all being now 'squatters,' we asked many questions."— Ed.

As this land was not in market at the time, & the pre-emption law having run out, we asked what security they had, that speculators would not buy their lands & improvements, or make them pay what their own improvements were worth? The reply was, that there was an understanding in the country, equivalent to a law of the land, that the settlers should sustain each other against the speculator, & no settler should bid on anothers land.

If a speculator should bid on a settlers farm, he was knocked down & dragged out of the office, & if the striker was prosecuted & fined, the settlers paid the expense by common consent among themselves. But before a fine 278 could be assessed, the case must come before a jury, which of course must be selected from among the settlers. And it was understood that no jury would find a verdict of *guilty* against a settler, in such a case, because it was considered a case of *self defence* . And if these means could not protect the settler, the last resort would be to "burn powder in their faces." These things being understood no speculator dare bid on a settlers land, & as no settler would bid on his neighbor, each man gets his land at congress price, \$1.25 pr. acre.

We this day reached *Apple River* , at Bro. Jewels. Here was a fort in the late Indian War, (1832) made & defended by the inhabitants. About 200 Indians under Black Hawk

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attacked this fort, defended by about 40 men & boys, besides a few women. A Mrs. Armstrong¹ assumed the command. She had some women making catridges, others loading guns for the men to fire, while she drove round the fort like a fury, cursing & swearing like a pirate. She had all the children drove into one room & one woman, with a club in hand, appointed to guard them, with strict orders [to] keep them from crying, lest the Indians should think they were frightened, & should thereby be encouraged.

1 In *Western Pioneer*, ii, p. 35, Brunson gives the name as Mrs. Graham. In the account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 288, 289, the woman is referred to as Mrs. Elizabeth Armstrong. Apple River was a lead-miners' camp, near the present village of Elizabeth, Jo Daviess County, Ill. The attack by Black Hawk and some 200 of his followers occurred April 6, 1832.— Ed.

The Indians heard her hallooming at the men, & knowing her voice, said afterwards that she was *very mad*. The Indians were defeated with considerable loss, while but one man was killed & one wounded in the fort. And both these men were shot when gratifying their curiosity by looking over the pickets. The bravery of this woman is allowed, by some, to have saved the fort. But it is a great drawback upon her credit, being so profane.

Sunday Oct. 18 th. Bro. Weigley was sick & took [to] his bed. He had taken some cold, & seemed to sink under the 279 fateagues of the journey. I preached twice to a small, but very attentive congregation.

In going to the school house, in which we met, I passed the grave [of] Bro. [blank in MS.] Luggs,¹ the young man who travelled the Buffalo grove Mission last year, & died at this place. A decent paling enclosed the little spot of earth where his mortal remains were laid, raised by the hand of [a] stranger. This lonely spot, among the holes dug for lead mineral, a few rods from the fort above named, has solemn appearance to a missionary, near a 1000 miles from home. I know no differince between a grave in the wilderness of America & one in Africa, or in Asia. He died at his post, some 100 [1000] of miles from his fathers

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house, mostly among strangers, but who were kind to him, & who, it is hoped will meet him in a better world. The sight of his grave, was a source of serious reflection.

1 In *Western Pioneer*, ii, pp. 34, 35, the author gives the name as Lemuel A. Sugg.— Ed.

Oct. 19. Being detained by the sickness of Bro. Weigley I spent part of the day in viewing the mineral grounds. An extensive tract of country, here, affords the richest lead ore in the world. It yields about 70 pr. ct. or 70 pounds of lead for a 100 of ore; & there appears to be no end to it in the bowels of the earth. It is found mostly in crevices of the rock, from 10 to 150 feet below the surface of the ground. Holes are dug from the surface to the rock, which is usually 10 or 15 feet, & if no crevice is found, they dig another, & so on till they strike a crevice. But every crevice has not lead in it. They keep digging therefore till they find one that has, & then follow it. The crevices usually run from east to west, or from north to south. A Crevice with lead in is called a *lead*, & when discovered is followed by *drifting* after it. And many holes may be dug to the same lead, so as to raise the mineral at different points. These crevices are sometimes 10 feet wide. Then they contract to a few inches when they must be blown with powder, to get room to work in them. Their usual width is from 1½ to 3 feet. Many who dig for this ore barely make a living by it. Some are fortunate enough to find a rich *lead* & make a fortune at once, but this number is very small, compared to the whole. The most who work the mines make well by it.

These mines being rich, are a source of wealth to the country. The lead taken away, more than pays for the goods & provisions brought back, so that the country is full of money & becoming wealthy. Farmers are much needed to supply the miners with provisions, which when done will save their price to the country & of course increase its wealth in the same proportion, for at present the most of the provisions consumed, are brought up the Mississippi River, from Missouri & Illinois. Farmers are, however, coming in fast, now.

20. We rode into Galena, about 14 miles, over a rough hilly road. This is a place of great business, about 1,200 inhabitants. It is situated on a hill side on Fever River about 7 miles

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from the mouth. there are two streets in the town, too narrow to admit of teams passing with convenience, & one so much higher than the other that the people on the upper street can look into the chimneys of those on the lower street. The side hill is but a mass of rock, & admits of no gardens worth any thing.

The people are mostly inteligent, enterprising & healthy but too much absorbed in the cares of the world to think of religion. They came here to make a fortune, & to leave, but have since concluded to stay here. On the opposite side of the river is better ground for a town, & ½ a mile back of it on the hill commences a beautiful Prairie, to which the town must ultimately extend. The trade of this Mineral district occupiess 6 or 8 steamboats, which ply constantly between St. Louis & Galena, Dubuque & Prairie du Chien.

Our introduction to Galena was rather forbiding. We could find no home but a tavern, the bills of which are equil to the Atlantic cities. I preached at night to a small congregation in our chappel, the building is small, 26 feet 281 by 30, has a fine bell & is occupied as a school house, for the present.

21. A methodist family invited us to lodge with them. I got my waggon into a barn & my harness into a loft to winter, while I took the road on horseback. In the course of the day I viewed the place & found some acquaintences, one of which was with Rev. M r Kent of the Presbyterian church.¹ He is the only preacher of his order in the mining country. He is very catholic & friendly in his views & feelings, & evinces a great warmth of piety. I preached for him at night, to a less congregation than we had, the night before, in our own church. Our respective churches are about of a size, say 30 members each, but his includes all the members of his church in the mines, while ours extends but little out of the town. Within the bounds of country including his members, we have one or two hundred.

¹ Rev. Aratus Kent was born at Suffield, Conn., Jan. 15, 1794, and graduated from Yale in 1816. After serving pulpits in the East, he was, in March, 1829, assigned to Galena by the American Home Missionary Society; having previously asked the Society "for a place so

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hard that no one else would take it." He organized at Galena the first Presbyterian church in the lead mines, and there labored zealously until December, 1848, when he withdrew to other fields. He died November 8, 1869. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 93, for account of his visit in 1833, to Fort Winnebago.— Ed.

22. Left Galena for the north in a sleet storm. It soon covered me with ice. My umberell became too heavy to carry, but too much frozen to let down. I was obliged, therefore, to call at a house & thaw it before I could fold it up. I then took the storm in the face, & before I reached a stepping place, I had at least 20 lbs of ice hanging to me & my horse. About 3 oclock P.M. I arrived at Major [John H.] Rountrees, Plattville, in the Wisconsin Teritory, having rode in & out of my way about 30 miles. The Major was not at home, but his wife,² the daughter of a Methodist preacher, knows how to take care of preachers.

2 Rountree, who settled at Platteville in 1827, married Miss Grace Mitchell, Aug. 7, 1828. Mrs. Rountree's brother (not father) was Rev. John T. Mitchell, a pioneer preacher on the Galena mission. Mrs. Rountree died Oct. 16, 1837.— Ed.

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I found it a home for the pilgrim Missionary. A young gentleman by the name of Gridley, on a visit at the house, kindly assisted me in getting off my over coat, & thawing the ice from my clothes, hat, saddle, &c. I staid here several days, till the storm was over. The ground was covered with ice for several days. This was rather a gloomy introduction to this country, but I was assured that the like was never seen here before. It was the worst storm I ever rode in, & cakes of ice were formed on me, near half an inch thick.

25. *Sunday*. Preached to a small congregation. The people here seemed to be very hungry for the word of life. The preacher appointed to this mission last year, was accused of an attempt at a rape, & was arrested by the civil authorities, & held to bail for trial. As might be expected every suspicious eye began to see suspicious things, that were past. And so, many more things were reported on him of the same character. Of all of

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which I shall speak, after his trial.¹ Owing to this circumstance, the mission circuit was left without preaching, as no other one could be gotten to supply it, & as a consequence, when the shepherd was gone, the sheep went a stray, & all things were in a state of moral desolation.

¹ “For a while,” said the author in his *Western Pioneer*, ii, p. 38, “he succeeded in deceiving me, and I aided him in getting clear of the charge; but subsequent developments convinced me of his guilt, the stain of which hung to him for life. On his death-bed he repented, and professed to obtain pardon from God.”— Ed.

27. Started for the north. And after travelling about 16 miles in a N. W. direction, I reached Aaron Boyce's. Here I fell in company with Sir Augustus Charles Murry, a Scotch nobleman, who was spending his time on this frontier, partly for the sport of hunting, & partly to learn the character of the Indians, from actual observation. He spent the season of the summer hunt, with the Pawnees on the frontier of Mexico, seeking Buffalo.

Seeing this intilgent & well educated young man, spend his time, brook the difficulties & dangers of such a life, 283 and for no higher motive than the gratification of his curiosity & passion for sport, I felt ashamed before God, that I had so long held back from a mission among the Indians in order to *save souls* .¹

¹ *Western Pioneer*, ii, p. 38:—“I slept in a cabin chamber with Sir Charles Murray, Queen Victoria's chamberlain, then selecting lands to, enter in this country. He yet [1879] owns large tracts in Grant County, Wisconsin, but after paying taxes for thirty years it is doubtful whether his lands would sell for their cost and the interest on it.”— Ed.

28th . To save 12 miles in 32, I took a new road to the Wisconsin, for 14 miles. I travelled a bridle path when in the woods, but when in the Prairie, which was most of the way, I had to travel with or without a trail, as it happened. I made out to hit upon the fords of the streams except the last before I reached the Military road, but there being a farm in sight, when on the hills, I found but little difficulty in getting along to the house. Here I fed myself,

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but could get nothing but Prairie hay & pumpkins for my horse, of which he did not eat much. In this neighbor hood were 6 families, recently settled, but the gospel had never yet reached any of their dwellings.

From this to the Wisconsin, 6 miles, & from thence to Prairie du Chien, 6 miles more, I travelled the new Military road, which leads from the Prairie to fort Winnebago, at the portage between the Wisconsin & the Fox River of Green Bay. This road is new & pretty good.

The Wisconsin at the ferry is about half a mile wide including the Islands & Slews or buyo's, but if all the water run in one channel, it probably would not be over 80 or 100 rods. I saw no place in this or the Mississippi River, that I could see straight across it for Islands or strips of land, with Slews, channels or pools behind them. In consequence of these Islands, the beds of these Rivers are wider, & the channel more difficult to find than they otherwise would be. The sand which lies in the bed of the Wisconsin moves by the influence of the current so that the channel is often changed, & rendered difficult for navigation.

Just about sun down I reached the house of Bro. Samuel 284 Gilbert, Prairie du Chien. This good brother & his wife were methodists in Kentucky, but there being no church of their own in the place, they had joined the Cumberland Presbyterians, under the Ministry of the Rev. David Lowry.¹ As I announced my name & business at the gate Bro. Gilbert & his wife met me with a smile, & welcomed me to their dwelling. I had some fears on the road. as to the reception I should meet with, not knowing the changes that time might have produced, but these fears soon vanished, when I was hailed as the messenger of God.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 405, *note*, for biographical sketch of Lowry.— Ed.

This Prairie was settled by the French traders more than a century ago. The settlers have mixed with the Indians, till about one fourth of them are of mixed blood. They are * * * the most of [them] ignovent as their savage neighbors, & no more improved in any way, except

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in their dress, they live in a poor kind of houses, & some of them make some little essay at farming. A small portion of them are wealthy, educated for business, & hold a respectable standing in the world: but *professing* no more religion than the others.

The Prairie is 9 miles long & varying from one to two miles in width. It lies on the east of the Mississippi River, & north of the mouth of the Wisconsin. The high bluffs which rise and bound it on the east are 3 or 400 feet high, covered mostly with Prairie grass, having a little timber & on their peaks or points presenting cragged precipices of rock peculiar to the mineral country.

The Settlement extends the whole length of the Prairie, & congress has granted to each original settler a patent for his claim, or settlement right. About midway, north & south, is the village, which contains perhaps 100 houses of all discriptions. The whole French & mixed population are about 600, the American 200 & the garrison contains 250 men, but their wives and children, & other attendents amount to about 150 more: makeing the population of the place, including all discriptions about 1200. The garrison 285 is built of stone, & situated at the south end of the village, commanding the river on one side & the Prairie on the other.

I was the first Methodist preacher who ever trod this soil, but even here I found friends, yes *warm* friends. I soon extended my acquaintance to a small circle of the American population, a few of whom are really pious. Bro. Lowry, who has charge of the Winnebago school nine miles above the Prairie, & preaches in town once in two weeks, & Bro. [Ezekiel] Tainter another of his members, seemed to be *my own* brethren. And I must say, I never enjoyed myself better among methodists in my life. Indeed, on the frontier, we seem to be out of the reach of the sectarian bickerings of the city & older settled countries. The spirit of missions is a *catholic* spirit. And as this spirit is the harbinger of the Millenial glory of the church, we see in its effects, both in savage & civilized lands, the character of that glorious age or dispensation, when "the watchmen shall see eye to eye."

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I preached on thursday night to about 8 persons more than the family—on friday night to 15 to 20 more than the family. On Sabbath Nov. 1 I preached in the new court house, which was opened for the first time for any use, to about 100 hearers, & at night to 150.

At first sight of the Rivers at this place it looks like a, sickly country. The water is darkened with the small particles of rich soil which float in it, yet it is not riley or muddy. The Islands are subject to inundations, covered with heavy grass & some of them half under water at all times, forming extensive marshes or swamps. But all these unhealthy appearances are counteracted by other laws. This country excedes all others I ever saw *for springs* . All the little streams are made entirely of springs. Their waters are clear as christial & are very uniform in their depth, seldom being swelled over their banks which are uncommonly low. And these Islands, being made of sand, & not quag mires, & being full of springs of exelent water, very little sickness is experienced on their account.

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Here I intend, if Providence permit, to locate my family, & I purchased about 100 acres of the Prairie for a farm, for \$700.

Nov. 2. Monday, left the Prairie, Bro. Tainter accompanying me [to] the Wisconsin ferry & paying my ferriage, 6 miles, & rode to Cassville, about 30 miles, & preached to near 100 people at night. This village was but just laid out tho' the map represents it as a large place. It has one of the best sites for a town the river bank affords in this region & will no doubt make a place of considerable business. My road to day was over a variagated country. Near the Wisconsin River is hilly, covered with timber & abounding in stone quarries & lead mineral. After climbing the hills I had a most lovely road over a beautiful Prarie, following a ridge the most of the way, with here & thare a flourishing farm.

Nov. 3. I went to Boyce Prairie, and preached at Aaron Boyces, 20 miles, & then to Jo s Boyce 6 miles & preached at night. My congregations were small, the population being sparce. At Aaron Boyces has since been laid out a town for the county seat of Grant

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county.¹ I this day crossed Grant River & several of its branches, all formed by the most beautiful springs I ever saw, & affording the purest of water, & the best of mill seats. The hills abound with stone & mineral. On some of the streams I saw evidence of stone coal.

¹ The plat of Lancaster was recorded May 1, 1837.— Ed.

Nov. 4. Rested & got some washing done, which I found difficult to obtain in this country, on account of the scarcity of female help.

Nov. 5. Rode to Plattville, 12 miles, crossing the two main branches of Platt. The first is like Grant, about 20 yards wide at the ford, & the second about 10 yds. abounding in pure spring water & the best of mill seats. The country on this road is hilly, covered with oak timber & well stored with mineral.

Nov. 7. Rode to Galena, 25 miles, & began a quarterly meeting for this Mission, which continued the next day, 287 being Sabbath. This was the first qr. meeting I held in the Western country. There were but 25 members in the church, tho' on Sabbath we have 200 in the congregation, who gave us 21 dolls. in the collection. The State of religion here, as in the rest of the dist. was at its lowest ebb. The year before one preacher had died, Francis Asbury Luggs,¹ who was appointed to Buffalo Grove Mission, Nichols S. Bastion, appointed to Dubuque Mission failed in his health so as to be unable to preach, & * * * appointed to Iowa Mission was accused of an attempt at a rape. This left only Hooper Crews the P[residing] E[lder] & stationed in Galena to supply the *four* charges. And tho' he labored excessively, & travelled when in danger of freezing in the winter, it was imposible for him to sustain the work.

¹ See *ante*, p. 279, *note*.— Ed.

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Under these circumstances, infidelity triumphed, & religion had but a nominal existence. Add to this, the spirit of money making seemed to absorb the whole community. Money was made with the greatest facility, & spent with greatest profusion; & as a matter of course, gambling, drunkenness, &c, were the common order of the day, with the majority. The population contained a good share of intelligence & more than ordinary share of enterprise, such as would naturally be attracted by the immense wealth of the mines. But coming to the country to make fortunes, Religion, with the great majority, occupied little or no place in their thoughts. But nothing can be more certain in the world of morals, than that if religion gains the assendency, (which may heaven grant to be the case) so that the wealth & intelligence of the country are sanctified to the service of God, it will be one of the most wealthy & useful parts of our globe: the soil being of the best quality, & the health being of the highest grade.

Nov. 12. Left Galena & rode to Dubuque, & held a quarterly meeting for this mission on 14 & 15. Here I found, as in galena, a small church with about 25 members. The 288 town is located on a sand Prairie adjoining the hill but is of difficult access from the river, on account of the Ilands & Sloughs (slues) which abound in the Upper Mississippi, on the west bank of which this town is situated. It contains about 600 inhabitants: the most of them foreigners * * * & forming the roughest & wickedest class of people I ever saw. The lead mines in its neighborhood are of the wealthiest character, and have given independent fortunes to some of the most degraded men of our species. Wealth in such hands only afford the means of grater wickedness. The lands were not in market & the only claim to it consisted of occupancy & consequently conflicting claims for valuable mineral ground frequently occured which were oftner settled by the *might* of the parties than the decisions of law. A few weeks before my arrival at this place one [of] our valuable brethren was shot dead at a mineral hole, while contending for his right, by two men, father & son by the name of Smith. They were committed to prison & indicted for the murder, the father as the principal & the son as accessory, but the settlement of the country being far ahead of the tardy movements of the government in extending the laws & the jurisdiction of the courts to it, it

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was found that the courts had no jurisdiction over the case & the prisnors were discharged. The people, however, feeling indignant at the offender, called a public meeting to try [the] Smiths in the true *democratic* form, & but for his escape would have hung him, as they had done one of similar character before. Smith, however, returned to the mines in the ensuing winter, & a brother of Massey who was murdered shot him down in the streets in Galena in open day, & then made his escape, no one careing to pursue him under the circumstances of the case. Not long after the younger Smith appeared in Dubuque & a maiden sister of Massey shot him in a store & would have killed him, but for his pocket book against which the ball of her pistol struck. Shooting & dirking were so common, however, that little notice was taken of it, unless death ensued; nor even then, if it was considered justifiable homeside. 289 Miss Massey, therefore, was not molested, but soon after left [the] country. The state of Religion as might be expected in such a country was very low. There were a few who feared God, & worshiped him in spirit & in truth.

Nov. 16. Rode to Menominee diggings on the east side of the River, crossing it both ways in a horse boat, in company with Bro. Morgan a local preacher, 10 miles, with whom I lodged that night.

Nov. 17. I started this morning for Cassville to fill an appointment I left when there before. I took the most direct road, which led by the forks of Platt where Paris now stands. But when I reached the River I found it impassable. The back water of the Mississippi over flowed the bottoms & this was frozen one or two inches thick, & the ferry boat, half full of water & ice, was frozen fast. Bro. Morgan, who accompanied me, then led me over hills & through vales, some timber & some Prairie land, up the little Platt to a *ford*. From this I found my way over a ridge of timbered land to the other Platt at Hough's mill & then to the Boyce Prairie. The snow which fell two days previous was fast melting away, so that my horse *balled*, slipped & became fatigued, and at 3 oclock I reached Jo s. Boyce's having travelled 26 miles, & yet 26 miles from the place of destination. I therefore despaired of reaching the place & put up for the night.

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Nov. 18. Rode to Cassville, and tho' the congregation had been disappointed the night before, a goodly number assembled to hear the word.

Nov. 19. Rode back to Boyce Prairie and lodged with Bro. Fluharty's.

Nov. 20. Rode to Plattville—Major Rountree's.

Nov. 25. Rode to the head of Platt, to Crows & preached at night. I presume I saw 50 deer tracks in the snow in 10 miles ride.

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Nov. 26. West Platt mound. Preached at night. This mound with its mate 3 miles east of it, rises 200 feet above the common level of the country. They are each about a mile 20 290 in circumference, & mostly covered with timber. The west one has in it a cave which has been explored 1 or 200 yards, & after winter set in a rattlesnake was found crawling about as in summer. I was relating this circumstance to a lady of truth, a few days after, who informed me that she lived at a spring on the Pekatoneka a few years before, in which snakes lived the whole winter—the spring was so strong & the water so warm — If any of them ventured down stream a little they became chilled even before the water froze. I climbed to the top of this mound from which I had one of the most beautiful landscape views I ever beheld. The course of the Wisconsin about 60 miles & the Mississippi for 100 by the high ridge on the opposite sides of them. These ridges with one south & east of Bean or Fever river forms an Amphitheatre of a triangular form of about 60 miles in diameter, with these Mounds nearly in the centre, from which the most of the country could be seen, interspersed with groves of timber and beautiful & rich Prairie.

Nov. 27. Rode to Galena, & the next day to Apple River, 14 miles, & held the first quarter meeting ever held there for the Buffalo grove Mission. The place was in sight of the old fort, distinguished for a battle in the late Black Hawk war. About 40 men women & children repelled the attack of about 200 armed savages. The women loaded the guns,

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run bullets, &c for the men to fire. The whites had one killed & one wounded, while some 12 or 14 of the Sacs & Foxes were shot down. But this place had more interest to me as being the place where Bro. Luggs, the last Missionary & first appointed to the mission, found his grave in the 23 d year of his age. A friend had built a neat paling round it, over which I could but shed a tear of sorrow & sympathy. I was a missionary 900 miles from my family; I could see no difference between 900 & 3,000 miles to die at from home, whether seperated from it by the ocean or by a western forest. My feelings were, therefore, considerably effected. I held the first love feast & administered the Lords Supper for the first time in that neighborhood.

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A few who loved the Lord enjoyed the meeting exceedingly well.

Nov. 30 . Rode back to Galena.

Dec. 3 . Plattville.

Dec. 5 . Rode to Mineral Point. The next day being Sabbath I preached.¹ This town contains about 600 inhabitants, mostly miners, & the place derived its name & wealth from the abundance of its mineral resources. It is unpleasantly situated, 3 miles from any amount of timber.

¹ See *History of Iowa County* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1881), p. 714, for Brunson's description of the first church in Mineral Point, and his visit thereto.— Ed.

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DIARY OF ONE OF THE ORIGINAL COLONISTS OF NEW GLARUS, 1845.¹

¹ This is the diary from which Mr. Luchsinger freely drew, in his article, "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 335–382. To that article the reader is referred. The original of the diary is owned by Miss Salome Duerst, of New Glarus, but has been deposited, for safe-keeping, in the library of this Society. It is of great

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value as a first-hand report of the trials and impressions of the earliest Swiss immigrants to Wisconsin. It will be remembered that these colonists were from the Swiss Canton of Glarus, and emigrated to America under cantonal auspices, for Glarus had become overpopulated.— Ed.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF MATHIAS DUERST, BY JOHN LUCHSINGER.

On the 15th of April, 1845, I took leave of my friends and neighbors, and went to Mitlödi and staid at the sign of the Horse, overnight. Next morning, the 10th, accompanied by my Brother J. Balth I took the path to the Biasca expecting to meet my dear family and relatives. Our committee had also arrived. I believed that everything had been well arranged; but heavens, how we were deceived. Even before we arrived at Rapperschwyl we asked the captain of our vessel "Felder," where we were to lodge and board. He answered that is your business, that his business was merely to carry and not to feed and lodge us. Upon that there was uproar among us.

At Rapperschwyl all went to the New Ship inn, in the City Court, at my instance, because of the prior good reputation of the house. But here we found avarice in play; we had to pay double prices for everything, even for a bed 8 Batzen [40 cents]. I would warn every one to beware of this baptized Jew.

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On the morning of the 17th we rose early, even too early, for we had to wait a full hour at the landing in the cold rain, with our little ones; we were finally allowed to go on board the vessel; some got on the tug boat that pulled ours. Our leaders, with some others, went into a room and discussed our dreary condition; the most of us had very little money. Paulus Grob, a brother of the first leader, came to us and figured everything and found that nothing lacked except the money for our support on the journey, an omission for which we had to blame our Judicial Parish Council. At ten o'clock in the evening of this, to us, everything but joyful day, George Legler requested me to describe our condition in

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writing, to be sent to our Parish Board, and while the others slept, I carried out the request and in as compact sentences as possible described our condition and in the morning a number of us signed the letter and sent it. I had no time to make a copy of it. We had very bad weather; all of the male persons had to remain on deck without cover, because the cabins were stuffed full of human beings; in such a manner we arrived at Zurich, but now the trouble only began. Shipmaster Körner said that only passage for 155 persons had been contracted for and not 193, that his vessel was not large enough, and that there was much more baggage than had been represented to him, and than he had expected. He hired 3 large four horse wagons, each at 50 florins for the women and children, but even then there were 30 such unprovided for, although the wagons were crowded to suffocation; a fourth wagon was prepared in haste as the rain fell in streams; some of us had to do some running. We went to see Mr. Landaman Blumer [member of Swiss Diet]; he heard us and promised to be surety for additional expense to the amount of 30 florins, and besides gave us a gratuity [of] 18 florins. Well, we then proceeded onward in God's Name. The male persons remained in the vessel. What we often consider misfortunes may by Heaven's Guidance become good fortunes. Oh how glad we were that our little ones were not with us in the boat, for we nearly perished with the cold; thus we arrived 294 at Laufenburg at nearly dark. We helped Mr. Körner to convey the baggage from the vessel to wagons, and again into another boat. In Laufenburg we lodged in the Ship Hotel, where we were decently treated, but the most of us slept for the first time in our lives on straw, in a cold dancing hall on the floor; because of the cold we got up an hour before daylight and walked around the town to keep warm; finally about 8 o'clock we got on the vessel and were received with ill-pointed joking questions.

Just before we got to Basle we caught sight of the wagons wherein our people were packed (there is no other fitting term) going over the Basle bridge. So that we all arrived at the same time at Basle to our great satisfaction. On our landing we were met by the Business Manager of Chris. David, named Basler, who received us in a friendly manner which we found to our sorrow was always the case when an advantage was to be gained.

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We had new difficulties to fight against, in which we were warmly assisted by Mr. Barthol Hefty of Haslen; he no doubt has written home of our miserable condition.

Some of us also visited Teacher Glarner who received us with kind hospitality and fed us with bread and wine he accompanied us to our lodging, our hosts were kind people, heaven reward them. I would recommend them to everyone; their Inn is the Sign of the Red Ox. Our little Caspar lay very sick there, and we received all possible aid and attention.

After the disorder in our affairs was settled, we again began our journey from Basle, on the 19th at 4 o'clock P. M. After four hours journey we stopped at Scheinweiler a Baden Village. There again some wandered ashore and others remained in the vessel; I had determined to remain, although my boy was yet sick and my wife was distressed; there came a Border Guard to me and requested that I go with him. I followed him with my family ignorant whither. He led us four to a Stone house where lived an old man with two single daughters they gave us coffee and my wife and children could once more lie in a good bed, and I in the room 295 on straw, but warmly covered; we all rested well. In the morning they again gave us good Coffee and bread, for all this I paid them voluntarily 5 Batzen [25 cents]; they even would hardly accept that, they asked nothing. We again set out early on the 20th I was very sorry to take up the children out of their gentle sleep. At noon this day we halted on a lonely shore and went on shore to eat our frugal dinner. In the evening we arrived at a grand Hotel where only three who had plenty of money and no families had the luck to get beds. I obtained a room with two beds t a reasonable price, because I ran in advance before the crowd came. I got my people robed at once. This Hotel belongs to the Mar-Grave of Baden. The place is called Rheinbad.

We were detained for health inspection so that we were unable to start before 9 A. M. on the 21st. The same evening we arrived at Kehl, a Baden town; we again had difficulty in getting beds for our wives and children, the men slept on straw in the barroom of the inn; but no one need imagine that it cost nothing to sleep on the long feathers, we had to

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pay from 3 to 4 kreuzer a piece [6 to 8 cents]. Kehl is a very fine town, we went about a quarter of a league to see the new railway and marvelled at that work of human hands. On the 22nd we started as late as 8 A. M. because of the custom house officers' inspection, and arrived in the evening at a Bavarian Village where we were lodged simple good and cheap. A schoppen brandy [one and a half pints] cost 5 kreuzer [10 cents]. A like measure of wine 3 kr. [6 cents]. Coffee for each person the same.

On the 23rd we arrived at Mannheim there we had to wait two and one half days for the Steam boat which arrived on the 25th in the night. Our leaders went to see Mr. Lanz the agent, he said he would provide cheap lodgings, about 100 of us were lodged in the Deer Inn, where all slept on straw on the floor of the dance hall, cost us 3 kr. each, 12 beds. It cost 6 krs. per person two in a bed; those who were well supplied with money or for other reasons did not relish such lodging sought other quarters. It 296 would have been better had we never submitted to such management. We had to provide provisions at Mannheim for two and one-half days as no cooking was allowed on the steamboat, not even to warm some milk for our little children. At this place the supply of money of Fr Legler and his son gave out. So we were obliged to attack the common treasury for their, relief, I myself had also to pay 25 francs for excess of baggage from Zurich to Basle, in addition to the food provided by Mr. David, which were common expenses.

So Legler and I had to draw on the common fund, and apparently we shall use up the whole of that fund designed to assist our beginning at the settlement, before we get there. A splendid arrangement we are under, but no one need wonder at it when you consider what miserable fellows sit in our Parish Council, who hardly know their a. b. c. and the better informed can barely write their names, let alone organize any sensible measure. Our town meeting resolution of April 1844 stated in positive terms that the head of each family should receive sufficient support and that our expenses should be defrayed to our destination. Had I not believed this would be done I certainly would not have ventured with one and one-half florins [60 cts.] to start on such a journey. I never would have believed that I was expected to provide food for four or five weeks. I hardly know whether to ascribe

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this state of things to a devilish malice, or to unpardonable ignorance, I incline to the latter. We must now break the track, every one who announced his intention too late to go was disappointed, but friends and relatives you may rejoice that you are yet at home. To you we turn that you may remind our Councillors and Councillor Streiff of the promises publicly made to us on our embarking at the Biasca Landing. If we had been unable to open our own purses we should have starved before this; we believed their promises, but Faith and belief do not always bring Salvation.

On the 26th we embarked on the Steamer and arrived in the evening at Cologne. Those who had money as usual 297 sought lodgings in the Inns. I and mine slept on the benches on the Steamer. Next morning the 27th several of us went into the City to see and admire that Splendid national work of the Germans the Cathedral. We arrived at Nimwegen, Holland, in the evening here our people were for the first time approached by hotel runners; 4 to 6 of those fellows hung like crabs to them, and coaxed them along. The simple inexperienced emigrants realized next morning how they were deceived, they had been compelled to pay 4 to 5 florins for a small family's lodging and food. On the 28th we arrived at Rotterdam here we believed ourselves to be at the point where according to Councillor Strieff we might tie up our purses, but the expense only began anew. I joined myself to the leaders and with them went to the Hotel City of Frankfort where we were very well treated.

On the morning of the 29 th we were brought on a steamer which took us to Dordrecht we waited there from noon until 9 P. M. when we were again packed into Canal boats. We consumed the time waiting, in looking at the city. Like all Holland towns everything gave token of wealth and luxury, buildings were all of brick, and streets paved likewise. The night of 29 to 30 was for us a depressing one, there was no chance to lie down on the boats, they were packed full of people, so that we had to sit all night wedged in together, which was in so far well as thus no one could fall over.

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On the 30th we arrived at Amsterdam where we again bought food; here we were embarked on two coasting vessels and in the evening after much delay sailed away. At Amsterdam thieves abounded, and several of our people had articles stolen.

The night of the 30th to May 1st was to us a night of terror, about midnight a severe storm struck us and madly stormed until morning. An Anchor was thrown 100 feet from the shore, then a rope was thrown to shore and by means of a windlass our vessel was drawn to the land and fastened. Only our ship was so fortunate, the other—which 298 contained mostly Little Valley people was obliged to east Anchor about 100 rods from land; we were able to get refreshments but not so the others.

So we lay in this condition till Ascension day but on neither vessel were the people in condition to observe this holiday. We saw the inhabitants in Sunday attire but supposed they were Catholics and were observing some of their feastdays. The most of us were very Seasick, the strongest men were obliged to retire and lie down. We had to remain where we were until the morning of the 2nd when we left but with such unfavorable wind that the ships could merely tack back and forth, so we could hardly make $\frac{1}{4}$ league in an hour. We had only 5 leagues to go and arrived at Nieuwendiep at 4 P. M. We embarked at once on the ocean ship which is a fine well-built three-master containing 88 berths in which we this evening lay, merely in our bed clothes; on the 3rd we bought straw so we can rest properly, but we must do our cooking outdoors on the shore like vagabonds; on the 4th was Sunday, but it can here not be distinguished from week days; people do business as on other days. The sailors gave most sign of it, many of them were full drunk.

From the 5th until Whitsuntide, the 11th, every day the same weather. We went to the town daily to buy food which was dear as is usual in a Seaport, especially one like Nieuwendiep which lies where for many leagues not a single fruit tree gladdens the eye of man; nothing but fiat meadows cut up with many canals, where the cattle gnawed the grass which is hardly 2 inches high; it is very unfertile, for a cutting cold sea wind blows continually. We could never really become warm. Nieuwendiep is entirely new; 45 years

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ago only one house is said to have been where now 11,000 people live; pavements and houses are of brick but seldom more than 2 stories high; they are mostly stores and shops where any article may be bought. Brandy 1 Stuber [1½ cts] a glass. Beer the same, but not good. Cheese was cheapest, for 4 Stuber [6 cts] a good rich one. Some was sold for less, which was mixed with cloves, but not all of 299 us liked that flavor. Milkmen came twice a day to the ship but the milk was as poor as the skimmed article is with us. Bread-sellers came also every morning; they had light white bread but entirely unsuited, but they salt the butter and meat very strong. The butter here is not melted as with us but they mix much salt with it and pack it in kegs and thus it remains good for years. It costs 8 to 9 Stuber, smoked pork 10 Stuber, fresh beef according to amount of bone in it 4, 5 and 6 Stuber but very fine meat. My purse did not allow me to buy of everything, neither could I go into the town much, for I was obliged to supply $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 200 persons on the ship with tin dishes.¹ However some of them were obliged to wait for theirs until we had been on the ocean 2 or 3 weeks. So that they felt the need of the tinner very much. From home and even on the Biasca landing they despised the tinker, but on the voyage they needed me worse than I did them. But after all I received but few thanks especially from one of the leaders * * * who served in all cases the part of the 5th wheel on the wagon.

¹ Duerst was a tinsmith.— Ed.

When things went wrong he could only curse and howl. Should another batch of emigrants leave our land do not leave the choice of leaders to M. Streiff. It was he that persuaded the committee to appoint such stupid men. On Whitsun Monday the 12th a few of the men from Diesbach came to me and requested me to go to the town and write a plain unvarnished letter home, we went into several houses but found no convenient place for there is not a great hotel in all the town, people drink their beer and schnaps in the shops standing; or if one wants to take his ease he sits on a bench or tub or whatever else is convenient, holding the glass in one hand and provender in the other. I believe this custom arose from the fact that Hollanders empty their glasses at one swallow and then leave. We resolved therefore to let the writing wait until we should arrive at Baltimore, so as also

to include the account of the Ocean Voyage. So we each bought a jug of schnaps and returned to our ships, on which we remained.

300

At nine o'clock of the morning of the 13th we pushed from the shore; an hour was spent in getting us into proper position with ropes and windlass; then our ship was taken in tow by a steamer which is always ready in the harbor for that purpose. At ten O'clock we moved off and bade farewell to Europe, perhaps forever for many of us. The steamer pulled us out about two leagues when we were given over to wind and waves. Seasickness took possession of most of us, and there was vomiting all around, none of us could remain on our feet even those who escaped the sickness, because of the heavy rolling of the ship by the waves. So we sailed with variable winds until Wednesday the 21st when there came a storm that drove the sweat out of the pores of many of us. Although the distance from the ships rail to the surface of the water was at least 16 feet and certainly the vessel reached a like number of feet under the surface, yet the ship lay now on this, now on the other side until the rail dipped into the water. The storm ceased on the morning of the 22d; the wind was completely still so that the ship made only two leagues this day. On the 23d we made better progress and on the 24th yet better, but the 25th was for us again a day of terror; a storm arose in the night, which reigned the whole following day with terrible madness. Many a one sobbed Oh if I had only remained in my home. From the 24th until the 26th Noon we were not allowed to make any fire, neither for the grown or the little could anything warm be cooked; those who had bought some food on land, cheese, or crackers could get along, but I and many others must fast, for the ships provisions seem contrived not entirely to kill human beings yet to make them very sick; much of it could not be eaten. The meat is all packed in barrels and so much salted that we have to wash it many times then parboil it and again throw the water away until it was fresher, but even then it was hardly edible. We receive 2½ lbs per week to each adult person; those under 12 years were reckoned two for one. Hard tack we have sufficient but this is not a human food. The pigs that are kept 301 on ship refuse to eat it; it is in ¼ lb pieces and of a dark

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brown color inside and out, and so hard as to require a hammer to break it up in pieces; it is made solely of bran and only a wolf stomach can digest [it]; it is calculated to kill by slow starvation. The rice is also of the worst quality, yet it is edible; each person gets ½ lb weekly. Beans and peas are fair. Butter as I have described it. Flour was gritty with sand and ½ lb per week was a portion for each. Potatoes were very bad, black, bad smelling and rotten, hardly fit for pigs. Such as they were we got but sparingly of them, sometimes none for 3 or 4 days. We often wished for some of ours at home. The water is rain water several weeks old and leaves a black sediment after standing awhile; but we had enough of it and that we were thankful for. After recovering from seasickness one gets a thirst that can hardly be quenched; one should have acid dried fruits in such cases, which is better than all the medicine in the world. We greatly wished for our Green Sap Sago cheese [Schabzieger] to give a better flavor to our rancid watery potatoes and to strengthen our stomachs. One should take along sugar and coffee also, especially those who contract their passage with the ship food included. I advise—from experience—every person or company that may follow us either on their own account or under control of any society, to bring their own supply of food if they value their health, besides it is # cheaper. The agents in Amsterdam, Sambrie & Co., make a profit of 29 florins on each passenger, which on the 185 expedited by them on this ship makes 4,495 florins. We have such miserable food that God may pity us. I only wish that those who so miserably contracted us might have the power to glance into this hospital; they would blush in terror on their own account. I would not wish my worst enemy the condition we are in. I trust we will get double reward, for we have passed through purgatory. I believe I could defy seasickness, and actually escaped the vomiting, but an excessive dysentery is wasting my flesh and strength. And I am not the only one, the strongest constitutions that seemed to 302 defy all changes of food and water heretofore do not escape this evil. This condition we ascribe to the use of unaccustomed food; had we smoked meat instead of salted we would not have suffered so.

On the 28th we realized the results of our bad lot; we sorrowed over two victims, Anna Beglinger, Rudolf Stauffacher's wife of Matt. after suffering many deaths for several days gave up her spirit this afternoon at 3 O'clock. She was wrapped and sewed into a large linen sheet; three pails full of sand were placed at her feet so as to sink her body. We carried her on deck laid her on a plank, we sang the first two verses of the 140 hymn, Leader Grob read our home funeral service, and so one hour after her death she was sunk into the ocean, where she will undergo no decay, and her bones need not first be sought and gathered at the resurrection. After she had sunk, the remaining verses of the hymn were sung; all of the ships people were on deck, and Leader Grob made a touching address, and urged us to be patient and united. Fruitless words; even when the water rises to and into the lips of the Glarus people they will not leave off their hatred, envy, distrust and self-love, each follows only his own lead; to be just, there are exceptions, but they are the grains of Gold in the sand on the shores. On the same day at 7 P. M. the $\frac{1}{2}$ year old child of Henry Stauffacher of Matt. died, it was bound into a pillow and placed over night in a small boat on deck, and next morning the 29th committed to the waves with like services as before; we sang the 142 hymn. This day we again had storm, but our fear was not now so great because we were more accustomed to it, and we knew that there was not much danger even with great storms on the high sea, unless they become cyclones and raise great masses of water out of the sea to great heights and carry it along many leagues. Should a ship have the misfortune to be in its path it is helplessly lost; they are termed waterspouts; we saw none such.

On the morn of the 30th the storm quieted down and we had fine weather and good wind all day.

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The 31st was a splendid day with bright sunshine, we sailed 50 to 60 leagues in 12 hours. This fore noon at 10 our ship had sailed just half the distance of our voyage, the other half we might make with favorable winds in 10 or 12 days; but it might take 20 or 30. So we

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passed the joyous month of May on the water where no blossoms or flowers perfume the air, but where we suffered fear, sorrow and pain, with but few joys between. Only a firm confidence in God, and the hope that over there in America a better future smiles upon us inspires and keeps us from despair.

Sunday the first of June is again a day of pleasure if one dare enjoy pleasure here. In the brightest sunshine all day the ship ran through the water like an arrow, without rolling; the most of the people [who] were on deck sang, jested, smoked and disputed. Only I and a few others were confined to our beds. Yet I do not for an hour wish myself back into my valley of sorrow. The voyage of life often leads over heights, but the harder the climbing the greater the joy after reaching the goal. Everything bears witness to God's wisdom. When one has always partaken of the good then there is no longer pleasure in its enjoyment. We have thus begun June well, and hope to see its end as good, for then I trust we will be on the land. The second is like yesterday clear and bright with good winds. I was enough better to be able to work, for the people pressed me much for tinware. The third was also pretty fair. We have had it quite warm for several days so that we sweat in our close berths without covering. We imagined we scented American air.

Today the 4th we made less progress, yet some, for we had only side winds. This evening we again had an unusual incident. The wife of Hilarius Wild of Schwanden who was pregnant suffered pain all day, her husband asked if possibly they were pains of labor, she said it could hardly be as the time of her delivery was not until August, but this evening she was delivered of a premature but living child. It lived until morning the 5th, when it died and was 304 consigned to the waves. This day I again had to keep my bed, and I lay unwell to the 9th during which time I could neither work nor keep up my diary. Am even now not strong enough for anything. Every day unfavorable winds so that we have now to sail in this direction, then in the opposite. This day the Captain made us a present of a pig weighing 50 lbs. It was dressed and divided among all the passengers, it made small portions about $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. each, but even so little refreshed us; it brought my health back for we cooked a good potatoe soup with our portion. Oh how we relished this meal! No prince at

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his grand table could be more contented than we were at this moment. At home with our usual food we think nothing of it. So circumstances may change. But everything has its good, in this way we learn to value even the little things. The wind remains unfavorable in the night of 9 to 10th; the ocean was quite uneasy, but this did not affect us any more, if we only had more and better food, for the people in consequence of seasickness and dysentery are so depleted, that most of them really suffer hunger.

This morning there happened an unpleasant dispute between the leaders, and some of our parish members, who had all along distinguished themselves by their selfish lawless conduct. I need not name them they are already known. They cursed continually at the committee, although that is to blame for our wretched condition yet not maliciously or willfully so, but because of their inexperience. It is surely to be believed that in another year such an undertaking would be better organized, and cursing does not mend the matter; on the contrary makes it worse by still more embittering our already embittered life. It is certainly impossible where there are so many different characters and tempers, to remove all cause of complaint. Had we patience, good sense and mutual confidence things would go better. We could in a gentle manner exhort and teach each other, and not at the slightest obstacles give forth the most shocking oaths and curses, the latter only increases the mutual distrust and hate, especially where, like sparks 305 in the ashes, some old grudge only waits for a chance to break forth into flames, to destroy the bonds of mutual help which should hold together such a company as ours. We shall need each other's good will and assistance if we are to succeed without double hardships and trouble. Love and friendship should fill the mind of each new settler and he should assist his neighbor gladly. If that condition could be had, we could make a paradise of the world, but it is with our present temper being made a hell of.

On the 11th it was fair with but little wind, so we did not get ahead at all and that is wearisome. On the 12 we had wind enough and too much, causing a heavy storm. In the first days of our voyage when the ship was tossing in such a way, no one dared to think of cooking, we rather suffered intense hunger, now we are accustomed to it no one cares

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and spite of the storm cooking goes on all day. The kettles were bound fast to keep them in place. In the night of 12 to 13 the storm became worse so that trunks that had been tied and fastened with ropes were torn from their fastenings and rolled over and over. We had to grasp hold of our berths with all our power to keep ourselves from being thrown about. On the 13th again but little wind; it is very discouraging to have one day storm and next day nearly entire calm, for in neither condition is there the progress we so much wish. On the 14th it is again better. This day the ship flew so that no steamship could have exceeded our speed. We saw a ship that was coming from America but soon lost sight of it, on the whole voyage we saw many ships but none came so close as to enable us to speak with them even with the trumpet which Captains of ships use. On the 15th did not run so well; made fair progress in the morning but no headway at all after noon. We saw a fine fish swimming around the ship, a sailor tied a piece of pork on a line and coaxed it and the mate stood with a spear ready to strike, as it came near he threw with steady hand and the points went into the middle of the fish's body; it was a master throw. It was drawn up on deck; it was beautiful animal weighing about 14 lbs; its green and yellow 21 306 scales shone like purest gold. The Captain may refresh himself with it. Morning of 16 a complete calm, we did not move from the spot the whole day and longed for wind but in vain.

On the 17th had some wind, and on the 18th still better. We believe and hope to see land if the wind remains so favorable until next morning. We have so much more cause to long for the desired shore because this day our principal food, the potatoes, were all consumed, and we fear we shall suffer hunger if fate keeps us much longer on the Sea. For one can hardly support life with the portions of other food given us. We could have had potatoes for a much longer time if they had been sound at first. They rotted in the hold and a terrible stench arises from them; it is as if there was a rotting manure heap and yet so driven by want were we that we ventured at the disgusting work of sorting and picking out the few sound ones from the rotten mass. We had now to make use of the horse food otherwise known as hard tack (Zweiback) [twice-baked] already described, and I look on with a sad smile to see human beings for hours whetting their teeth in endeavor to bite and chew

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it; those who possessed good teeth got along fairly but those not so fortunate would get hungrier as they tried to chew it. It filled the stomach but contained little nutriment. 19th the hope to see land this morning was not fulfilled although we sailed well all night. It is now again nearly complete calm. A few days since we made an unpleasant discovery which very much increased our longing to get on land. I hardly dare to write it; body lice in great number have shown themselves on some of the less cleanly, and it is feared that they will so spread as to infest all of the passengers unless all possible preventive means are taken. It would be anything but a pleasant companionship. For this reason I at once had my long hair cut, for as soon as I heard of the presence of these unclean guests I imagined I was infested, but to my joy the fear was groundless. The one who bred this unwelcome population was from the proud town of Ennenda, his name 307 is * * * It is well that it was none of our Valley people or we would have great censure.

This evening the little son Rudolf of Henry Hoesli of Diessbach died; he declined a long time and suffered from convulsions. It was sad to see him when sick and not be able to give him any relief. He was on the morning of the 20th with the customary services committed to the waves; we sang the 138 Hymn. Myself and every feeling person can imagine how painful it must be for parents who have loved a child to commit it to the watery elements. We that were born and brought up on the land are unused to such disposition. We think it more comforting to intrust our dead to mother earth on firm land, but when one considers that the water as well as the land is a creation of God and that finally on the day of judgement the reward follows the deeds, then it can make no difference when, where, or how, we must die. If we have only lived so as to be ready, it is well. The goodness of God made itself evident in the case of Barbara, the mother of the dead child; her husband confined to his bed by sickness could give her no assistance in the care of the child. Other friends were weak and seasick and she alone had to watch and care for the dying one, many a time when no one else could venture on deck in the fierce storm, in greatest danger of being thrown down and washed overboard, she went to cook some warm food for her beloved child. This day we again got along swiftly, the wind blew

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strong and steady from the rear, and I just have heard the report that the Captain has said that even with moderately favorable wind we would see land tomorrow afternoon. How glad we would be if it prove true.

On the 21st our hope is again cheated. No America in sight yet. I have determined to believe no more reports; what the eyes see the heart believes. I shall trust only my own eyes. This afternoon it rained harder than I ever saw it before; it ran in streams for an hour, and it was sultry to suffocation, all of the passengers below crowded for air to the openings. It is remarkable to notice for us, that 308 the days are fully three hours shorter than at home. In the longest days in Glarus it is lighter at 2 A.M. than here at 4 A.M. At 8 in the evening it is already night, and that impresses even an uneducated person that there is not such a great difference between the longest and shortest days as in Switzerland.

On the 22nd again a weary Sunday. The people at home are no doubt walking through fields and meadows, stretching the potato tops to mark their growth. In our thoughts we wish ourselves there for a few hours. Weak winds in the morning, stronger in the afternoon, still no land in sight. On the 23rd a heavy storm tossed us around considerably. On the 24th a ship coming from America came at a signal from our Captain so near that they could speak with trumpets with each other. I could not understand English but gathered that the ship was bound for France. Many people were on board. Afternoon another met and passed us. The splendid wind chased our ship through the waves like the best steamer, let us see if there is nothing new in sight by morning. 25th and 26th both days nearly total calm, so near to land and not be able to move from the spot is nearly unendurable.

The 27th the most joyful day of the whole ocean voyage; about 10 A.M. a coasting vessel came up and they asked our Captain if we were in want of provisions. I presume the Captain answered he was not for the boat left us again. About 11 o'clock the joyful cry Land! was heard. All who were not already on deck streamed up, myself among the latter, and really we saw what resembled a row of great trees. The American flag was at once

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hoisted on the foremast; every body expressed their gladness and thanked God, and I believe most sincerely from their hearts, for whoever has lived through 46 days of such misery, even the most hardened is glad to be redeemed. We waited with impatience until the expected pilot should come who was to guide our ship to the coast. At last we saw a coast vessel approach us with lightning speed and at 6 P.M. the man boarded our ship; the boat that brought him turned and with all speed departed leaving us way behind in a short time. No one who has not had our experience can imagine what enthusiasm reigned among our people; the faces were all changed, and one could read joy and gladness in them all. At once all our privations and troubles seemed forgotten.

On the 28th, this morning, my eagerness drove me on deck at half past three, it was quite dark so that only the light houses on both sides were visible which guide the voyagers safely along the dangerous coast. The first mate in reply to my question when we would arrive at Baltimore said if the wind holds well we would be there this evening. He said he had never sailed so swift during the whole voyage as now, and indeed, it is astonishing what speed the wind awakens when it comes from the right quarter; but one can imagine when 16 sails great and small are plump full, that it makes power that would tear down great cliffs. This morning we asked to be allowed to gather and keep the cooked, uneaten food. The answer was that first we were to throw overboard our bedding straw, pull down the berths that had been fastened, and cleanse the ship. This order made motion; every one who had hands laid on with hatchet and hammer and in two hours all of the 88 berths were laid aside; now we wanted the promised food; there was considerable commotion when the mate declared that as we wanted to draw rations before usual time each must sign a receipt therefor. He had strict orders to issue food only once a week on Tuesdays, and as we were now only in the middle of the week since the last ration day, he could only issue for a half week; well, we had to be satisfied with that much. In the afternoon the wind slackened, and the evening brought even head wind, so that the anchors had to be thrown. We remained the whole night in this condition with no straw or berths to lie in, so some slept on their trunks and others on the floors.

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On the 29th morning the anchors were hoisted again, and we sailed ahead with light winds until 5. P.M. when the anchors were again thrown as a heavy shower broke upon us, but had to remain so only an hour as the shower passed 310 away, and we sailed with incredible speed towards the harbor, so that when darkness came we were as close to land as we could sail. The same evening the port physician came on board, and the Captain returned with him on shore. I would like to describe the gladness which ruled among us, but I believe even the most learned could not compel his pen to describe it, let alone an unlearned person as I am. We lay this night as on the previous one on our baggage, and on the floors, on the ship. Before we retired however some of our best singers sang several songs splendidly, so that even the sailors crowded around and applauded. The sons of Fr. Legler, Sr. sang especially well, and they also were of the most helpful of our company during our voyage.

On the morning of the 30th everyone put on their best clothes; the leaders intended to call on August Dieselhorst to whom we were consigned by the scoundrelly shippers in Amsterdam, but we had a lack of confidence in the ability of the leaders, justified by our experience, so that we decided to elect a committee of three to join the leaders & to take part in their work. I was one of those so selected. We went together to said agent, but we accomplished nothing, he charged us eight dollars per head to St. Louis. We ascertained that he had no authority to contract passage farther than Pittsburgh and there we would again have to make a new contract; rather than run the risk of losing a portion of our passage money by charges from other shippers, we declined to further deal with this man. We made inquiries for the firm which was to pay us the reserve fund promised us at Amsterdam by Councillor Jenny. We found the firm but they knew nothing of any fund to be paid us, which ignorance we invariably find, when anything for our advantage is sought. This afternoon we received notice to remove our baggage from the ship at once or it would be thrown overboard. We went at it head over heels, and loaded it and carried it on carts to our lodgings. I then wished I had not so much baggage, as it was a very great trouble. I lodged with a German landlord named Konrad 311 Buschky a good friendly man, for

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Breakfast we had coffee, bread, butter and sausage. Dinner—soup, meat and vegetables. Supper like breakfast; our beds were bad, on the upper floor cloths had been laid on which most laid, others sat up the whole night in the guest room. We paid 12½cents meal, and for sleeping 3 cts. a person counting two children as one person. An American dollar has 100 cents, a five-franc piece 94 cents.

June is now ended. When I closed my diary for May I thought that by this time we would be on the land which has been bought for us, but of course it was a vain hope. On the 1st of July all of the men of our company went on a hill near the city where we discussed our further plans, especially as to which of the three shippers who desired to ship us we should entrust ourselves. Leader Grob showed their references and it was resolved that the committee last formed, of which I was one, should conclude a contract with a Jew Abraham Cuyk. Everything was arranged to save money; we paid for each person 20 francs, children from 4 to 12 two for one, and under 4 free. It is understood that we provide our own food. Our baggage was weighed and we had to pay \$1.00 per hundred for all over 100 lbs. to each person, these outlays exhausted our treasury. This day we saw in Baltimore a ceremony performed such as none of us had ever seen. The great general and late president Jackson who had performed great deeds for the liberty of America had died, and these were his funeral obsequies, seven thousand horsemen in double ranks, the first column in black pants and vests and white jackets trimmed with black ribbons and crape rode on splendid white horses, the officers at the front. Column after column rode, each with like colored horses and clothing, and splendid processions followed each other the whole day. The principal doings I did not see, but read about them in the newspapers, but my pocket diary would not have room for the description. Honor to the great man who like Cincinnatus of old Roman times was several times called from the plow to head the armies of the nation and 312 its councils, and always acquitted himself well as statesman or soldier. This evening we had some business as already noted. We had received a present of 18 florins from Mr. Blumer and 100 florins from Councillor Peter Jenny with instructions to aid the most needy when necessary. We had two families who were bare of

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all money, and therefore could travel no farther than Baltimore, they were Andr. Steusey of Reiden, and Andr. Kundert of Rutty, each had a wife and child, one of them had an offer of employment. So the leaders after consultation agreed to give the two men 15 francs which they received and divided.

The night of 1st July to 2nd will never be forgotten by me. I was suddenly attacked with sickness coupled with terrible pains in my bowels so that I thought I should die. I was easier in the morning but utterly weak. The 3d morning we bade farewell to those left behind and went to the railroad a league from the city; this day was the gladdest and best of the whole voyage until now. The first time in our lives riding on a railroad we never tired of seeing the sights. We rode with the speed of the wind through splendid country and shaded valleys—the eyes rejoiced in the many pleasant changes; the rich grain fields, the fine orchards, the tasty dwellings proclaimed to us American comfort and wealth and so controlled by these sensations we came in the evening to the Susquehanna river. There we got out of the cars and passed over a bridge two miles in length into the town of Columbia, which lay on the opposite shore. We went to the Golden Eagle tavern where we had supper at 14 cents per person. After supper until late at night we had to perform the hard labor of carrying our baggage from the railroad to the Canal boats which were to bring us to Pittsburgh. We slept in the boats the same night, but how,—not much better than if we were a flock of sheep. One may imagine how 30 to 35 human beings were pressed like herrings into a space 12 by 7 feet, many had no room even to sit and were obliged to stand all night as if they were sentenced to the stocks.

On the 3d July we left Columbia. Each of our boats was 313 drawn by one horse, which at stated times was relieved by another which rode along in the boat; there was no stop except at the locks, where the boats were raised higher, usually a few houses stood at each lock where we were able to purchase food, the men usually ran out at the stops and hurried to get food in time. The people, mostly Germans, took advantage of our hurry and

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prices were raised on us in proportion to our eagerness, it seems they are infected with avarice and deceit. The farmers are said to be hospitable and honest.

So came we Sunday morning the 6th of July at 9 A.M. to Hollidaysburg. I cannot name all the towns and villages we passed. At this place we lay the whole day because on Sundays all business rests. We cooked in the open air on fireplaces hastily erected, and prepared sufficient food to last us next day, for the Canal stops here and our boats with all therein are loaded on railroad wagons,¹ but this is easy—the track runs into the water, the cars are let down, and the boats floated on them and the lead drawn up the incline by means of a wire rope attached to a windlass worked by four horses. This morning at 7 the train of wagons started, it is astounding what human hands can do. Sometimes the train was drawn up steep inclines by a wire rope and steam engine, which pulls up on one side of the mountain and lets down on the other; at the levels, sometimes locomotives, at others horses, pulled the train and sometimes down easy inclines neither was used. We went fast enough without. Sometimes we passed through tunnels under mountains; it is an astonishingly costly and bold

¹ This mountain-climbing road was a division of what afterwards became the Pennsylvania Railway system. The distance between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown was 37 miles, and the road attained in one place an elevation of 2,491 feet above sea level. It was completed March 18, 1834. See Flint's *Railroads of the U. S.* (Phila., 1868), pp. 87, 88. Flint says: "There were two very long incline planes, at the top of each of which two stationary engines were placed, and were worked with the usual endless rope. Four cars were drawn up and four were let down at the same time. A safety-car attended each trip, and could stop all the cars, in case of accident to the rope."— Ed.

314 enterprise. This evening brought us to Johnstown where our boats were again let into the water of the Canal. We started in the night, everything went well until about 2 o'clock A.M. we got stuck in the shore and had to remain until morning when with our help we again got afloat.

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The 8th, nothing of interest happened; we were kept busy admiring the gigantic work of man over which we were passing—tunnels through solid rock which took 5 minutes to pass, lined partly with natural rock, partly with hewn stone, alternated with bridges over great streams—all works of which Europe has no idea. Sometimes the route is through lovely wooded valleys, again over smiling regions where log houses alternate with splendid dwellings, in front of which we frequently see ladies in bonnets and fine clothes, milking cows; but so far as I could observe that is about all the work they do, for we saw even in the log houses such persons sitting in rocking chairs clad in bonnet and shawl with folded arms like grand ladies.

On the 9th we had a revolt with the crew. Some of our people had stepped off to buy food, and as the boats did not stop for such purposes they naturally fell behind so as to cause them more than two miles quick marching to catch up. When they came they requested that the boat be hauled near shore so they could jump aboard; the boatmen refused; we insisted with a great deal of noise and I was about to cut the draw rope with a hatchet when the crew concluded to grant the request; afterward we were shown more consideration. This evening we arrived at Pittsburgh; as we floated into the city our singers sang several Swiss songs which attracted hundreds of people to the border of the canal and to the windows of the adjoining houses.

On the 10th, forenoon, we viewed the city. It is laid out on a grand scale—broad streets with walks on each side, splendid churches of which the English Catholic is the finest. It is a grand temple built of hewn stone, with a fiat roof surrounded by a gallery and a great copper dome in the middle; it is situated on a height and overlooks the whole 315 city. There are numerous other fine churches, especially noticed one built in gothic style. We noticed the ruins left by the terrible fire which devastated the city that spring, and which in 6 hours had destroyed 1200 houses besides some churches and a fine bridge. They are rebuilding however with the usual American speed and I believe that at the end of this

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year there will remain but few traces of the fire. Most splendid buildings have Phoenix-like arisen from the ashes.

I found Mr. Jost Ruch from Mitlödi [in Glarus], an old friend; he is a milkman, he brought me and wife and another friend Barbara Blesi; he treated us to good wine in a hotel and kindly invited us to go with him to his house a mile from the city. After much search we finally found the Grob Bros. and required them to give an account of our regular and extra expenses so far. They made a claim on our Company for 32 florins due them, we demanded at first and wanted vouchers for this claim which they could not furnish, but after much talk the amount not being for any one individual to pay but by the Company, it was finally allowed and paid. After this was settled we discussed as to how the remaining 85 florins were to be disposed of; the direction of the giver was that it should be expended for the benefit of the most needy. I with others were for the carrying out of these directions, but that was the hardest task of the whole voyage to so expend it. To be sure there were several families entirely destitute of money, and in consequence had to remain in Pittsburgh; but among those were such as had lived better during the whole voyage than the others, who paid for sleeping in soft beds while others more provident were satisfied to lie on hard berths. It was finally decided to divide it equally among all, which gave each person 37 ½ kreuzer [18 8/# cents]. I and family and a number of others went to Mr. Ruch's place and were entertained with most generous hospitality with the best in the land. At dusk we returned to the River and the Steamboat where we had already taken lodgings, although [we had] not yet contracted for passage. Had just got on board when the wife of J. C 316 Legler was taken with pains of labor and in half an hour she was safely delivered in greatest quietness of a boy. Mother and child were well, although they lay in a berth near the boilers where the heat was smothering. These steamers are different from the European. The freight is packed in the lower hold, the Engine and Boilers are in the second floor as well as the kitchen and the cheapest class of passengers. And it is unbearably hot, the boilers are forward, the engine is simple and merely drives one propelling wheel in the rear of the boat. The third floor is the Cabin extending nearly the

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whole length of the boat, on both sides of which are the state rooms; in the center is the Saloon furnished with greatest American splendor—the floors covered with finest carpets, chairs, pictures and mirrors in the latest fashion; from the ceilings hang ground glass globes in which lights burn in the night. Great pitchers filled with ice water on the tables: in short all of the conveniences of a grand house; three times a day meals are served in best style such as we in Switzerland only serve on great occasions. Refreshments of all kinds can be had between meals. On the upper deck is a little room with windows for the steersman. The cabin passage is better, but the other worse than in Europe; there both classes are on the same deck, but here the one who has money walks over the head of the one who has none.

On the 11th, morning I again visited Mr. Ruch accompanied by Fr. Legler, Jr. to get my family which had remained there. We had an American breakfast and then all returned and embarked on the steamer or rather in the purgatory. But before writing further I must describe Mr. Ruch. In the year 1817, driven by poverty from his birthplace Mitlödi he served as servant nine years until he had saved some money, then he bought land and he now owns \$300,000 of property and a homestead on an elevation surrounded by fine gardens that would be the envy of many a German nobleman. Inside one would hardly imagine himself in the abode of a farmer, but in that of a grand capitalist; from the threshold to the roof the floors and stairs 317 are covered with costly carpets; everything one sees bears witness of wealth, yet the owner of all this is not too proud to haul and deliver to his customers their daily supply of milk. He had two houses burned in the great fire in the city—several years ago he sent for his old mother in Switzerland and she now lives with them in plenty, enjoying aside from her old age fair health. Should this writing ever reach my dear home, he sends greetings to all old friends and relations. He came to us on the boat before we left and strongly urged us that we do not settle on land until we should have some money to work with; for unless we had we should, spite of the greatest industry, surely perish. I could have had three chances to work at my trade in Pittsburgh for \$1.25 per day to begin with; and afterwards more, but I declined, for if it be possible I

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will have some land, for a mechanic cannot rise as high as a farmer, although he may also make his fortune. Food is cheap in Pittsburgh. Hogs' heads could not be seen laying in the streets as some of us had been told at home, but we could buy them smoked in the shops for 4 cents a pound. Mutton same price, beef 6 cents, a glass of schnapps 4 cents, hams smoked 8 to 10 cents the larger the cheaper.

This day we made a contract with our Captain to carry us to St. Louis at the rate of 2 dollars for each person over 14 years, 8 to 14 counted two for one, under 8 free, with 100 pounds baggage free for each full passenger. We laid in provisions for a couple of days and towards evening left the city. We steamed pretty fast until 10 P.M. when the boat halted until morning.

On the 12th—Again steamed along; in the forenoon our boat ran into another, we supposed from the crash everything was in pieces; we found out it was done intentionally because of rivalry. This does not occur seldom, that they greet each other by destroying each other. Luckily our boat remained the victor this time, although damaged some. It is unpardonable that the crew should perform such dangerous feats and risk the lives of 250 people on this boat. It is said to be prohibited by a penalty of \$500 but they care nothing for that. We again steamed along fairly until evening; when in the middle of the stream we saw on a sand bar two boats laden with coal which they offered for sale to passing boats. Our boat sailed towards them to get fuel but owing perhaps to the inexperience of our steersman we got stuck in the bottom. We thought we could get off again this evening but as usual were condemned to delay. Other boats came along to assist us, our baggage and much other freight was put on flatboats. The most of the men including passengers were required to get on the bank and push with all their might against the vessel; but all in vain, it moved not from the spot. I and some others including some women and children were on one of the flatboats and without notice were carried to the shore and there left nearly naked without food to eat. This evening I count not one of the pleasant ones of the trip; I had laid my two children to sleep near a stairway on the boat out of the way of people, and my wife and I were on the shore—imagine our anxiety.

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I could not get to them and none of our friends had seen them. My boy got up in the dark and fell into the hold. The Captain carried him up again unhurt. When I returned to the boat and found that this had happened, I made some noise. Those who had been put on the coal barges had to remain there until midnight until they were taken off, and then while being brought to the shore their boat upset and some of the men were nearly drowned before they were helped out of the water. Who would have imagined such things at home. We imagined golden mountains with air castles built upon them. The greater number of the passengers came on shore and we made fires and cooked outdoors, and slept this second night under God's free heaven. We were able to buy some food in a neighboring farm house but at extortionate prices; pint of milk 4 cents.

On the 14th forenoon, we came again on the boat, which had during the night been moved about a gunshot distance, with greatest exertions of men and steampower, so that it had water to float in; we then floated down the Ohio. Our baggage 319 was in a flatboat; after sailing a few hours they again desired to land, but as they always turn the bow up stream when a halt is made they in this instance had not calculated the distance properly required to make the turn; the result was, the propelling wheel struck the shore and broke. After repairs lasting until evening we proceeded and arrived at Wheeling, here a halt of a few hours was again made. This city was founded by Germans but the language is lost; one seldom finds a German-speaking person; in the night we again started.

15th This day the Captain made inquiries for me on the boat. I found him on the deck busy with a day book; he sat down by me with an interpreter and put a hundred questions to me. Why had we come to this country? How large was our country? How formed, what were its products, what wages? How was the climate? What our religion, government, laws etc. During the whole conversation he expressed a pitying astonishment. No wonder, said he, that so many thousand human beings come to this country. He said further, a day laborer can earn so much here in a month that he can buy a piece of land larger than many a husbandman has with us. I also put several questions to him, principally referring to our company. He said he had heard our people had but little money left, but as our land

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had already been bought for us we had not that to provide for, so that there was no risk of our starving; to be sure our beginnings would be hard, and he deemed it better that we stay in St. Louis and get work of which there was plenty, then in the next spring go on our land with more means and experience. And he strongly endorsed what we had often before heard, that 20 acres was little better than nothing, that it would not pay the labor to build a house and barn on such a small tract. And he strongly urged upon me the unwisdom of going upon land with such a trade as I had, which he counted one of the best in America; and with which I could earn \$2.00 per day in St. Louis. That with my slight body and strength I would be too weak to clear the wilderness. That I should work for wages a 320 few years, then if I wanted land I would have means to buy some near some town; it need only be large enough to provide for the necessities of life from its products. I could still work at my trade and sell its product in the town or city. In this way I might in a few years become a man of means. I replied that the land had already been bought for me, the money laid out. He replied that it was not even worth while to talk about 20 acres of Government land; and becoming somewhat excited said, if you dont want to follow my well meant counsel, you may go into the wilderness and work the hide from your back, if you prefer that to the other way, by which you may live like a lord.

16th During yesterday's conversation the Captain told me that we were all to land today, that I should so inform the passengers so that he might count them, and this took place today. We paid him one dollar per person and he gave each a ticket to Cincinnati; today we arrived at Portsmouth and halted but 20 minutes, so we saw nothing of the town except some houses from the river. Many of them were like palaces. We in haste bought some food and ran on board again for no one desired to get left.

17th This morning at two o'clock we arrived at Cincinnati. We had thought that the same boat that brought us from Pittsburgh would take us to St. Louis. We had made the contract with the Captain to the latter place but it was announced that our boat went no farther and our contract was cancelled. So we sought to get passage on another vessel. I went on

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one, and found the mate who spoke very good German, and made a contract¹ with him for St. Louis which was a little more to our advantage than that made

1 The following copy of the contract with the captain is given on a flyleaf of the diary.— Ed.

CONTRACT WITH RIVER CAPTAIN,

The Captain of the Cincinnati Steamboat undertakes the Swiss Company under the following conditions:

Persons over 14 years \$2.00 Children under 14 to 8 years reckoned 2 for one person, and under 8 years free.

In consideration therefor the Captain binds himself to bring us as speedily as possible to St. Louis, and we are also assured a place for cooking and sleeping also wood and light; each person has 100lbs baggage free, the overweight must be paid at 30 cts per cwt. The one-half of passage money will be paid in Pittsburgh, the 2nd half in St. Louis after proper fulfillment of the contract, This contract shall be drawn in writing and each party receives copy thereof.

[Not signed.]

Cincinnati, July 17/45.

The undersigned Captain of the boat Wing and Wing has concluded a firm contract with divers families for St. Louis. Prices as follows Each person pays one dollar Children from 11 to 14 half, all under 11 free, each person has 100 lbs baggage free, children who pay, 50 lbs. the overweight 20 cts per cwt. the passage must be paid by the passengers when we arrive 25 miles from St. Louis.

James Bugler, Capt.

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321 in Pittsburgh. Each person over 14 pays a dollar, from 11 to 14 two for one, and less than 11 free. 100 pounds baggage free, and over that 20 cents per cwt. We had better accommodations, for the people were divided on three boats, but the greater part are on ours; there were 32 berths in tiers of four. This is for us much more convenient than on the last, where we had to lay on the decks so that our bedding was often wet through from rain and river water. Today we had an unexpected visit from Thomas Streiff of Schwanden; he works here in a factory as engraver, he said things were well with him, that he had no desire to return home, but at first he had had fearful hard times, that he had long been sick, his wife died; it must be a great grief to lose one's beloved ones in a strange land. Hilarius Wild and wife and little boy remained here, and they will probably live with Streiff in one house. Some of our people had dropped off at all of the principal places we touched, Baltimore, Columbia, Pittsburgh and Wheeling and remained; and should we not find Judge Duerst on our arrival at St. Louis we shall be compelled to remain there, for once there unless we find directions we will not know in what direction to go, like a flock without a herdsman.

The 18th Today I looked around some in the City; it is one of the finest and largest in the United States; the streets are paved and broad with walks on each side over which cloths are stretched; they cross each other at right angles. The houses are all built of brick & furnished with extravagant splendor. I found none in which anything could not be bought; the shops are termed stores, and are filled with goods of such quantity and splendor as to excel even the 22 322 large cities of Europe. Cincinnati, the principal city of Ohio, is nearly in the middle of the Union, is growing with incredible rapidity; and it is believed as she lies in the center she may in a few years excel Washington and become the Capital of the Union. There are 72,000 inhabitants.

Meat of all kinds is very cheap here, for 50 cents one can get a fair small dressed sheep, smoked hams 6 and 8 cts lb. and it is said that each winter over 100,000 hogs are slaughtered—the heads and insides are all thrown away. A half gallon of grain brandy costs only 16 cents; a cent is the same as a Zurich Schilling, but wine is dear because it all

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comes from Europe—of course we did not indulge in any. The beer is sweet and 3 cents a glass, but I did not like it.

On the 19th. Today our boat the *Wing and Wing* left about 11 A.M. The steersman said it went very fast and that it would catch up to those who had left the day before. This morning our company was again increased by a new member. Rudolf Stauffacher's wife gave birth to a boy, so quietly that persons quite close by neither heard or saw anything of the event, until the child was in the world. i human being can exert great control when she must and will; this is the third birth on our voyage and in all cases the event was quiet, whereas at home there would have been a powerful noise. The cheapness of food yesterday had tempted many to buy a large supply of fresh meat, but today the greater portion had to be thrown into the river because of the intense heat causing decomposition and a horrid stench. For the last two nights we have had that plague of America, the Mosquitoes. Many of our people are so full of scratches and swelling as to be nearly unrecognizable. Others have swollen hands and feet from the same cause. They are small long legged flies which only come at night. This evening we came to the town of Madison, in Indiana. We could not get into it because halt was only made to take some freight on board. The prospect towards the river shows splendor and wealth like all American cities.

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The 20th. This morning just before dawn we arrived at Louisville, a blooming city in Kentucky, four of us went into the city and in order to save space in my diary will remark that what I have said about other American cities applies here. From this place down for two miles, the Ohio is not navigable, therefore a canal was built which carries the largest steamers, and this 12 mile Canal has cost more money than all the highways in Glarus Land; its bed throughout is blasted in the solid rock and on this rock there are walls on each side 8 to 10 feet high, on top of that there is a cemented embankment over 50 feet wide. A splendid bridge of three arches built of hewn stone crosses it, and near its outlet into the Ohio are three locks close together so that the largest vessel can be raised or lowered 30 feet; just now the water is very low in the canal and our men, women and

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children had to travel the whole distance on shore to the outlet; but we had plenty of time as it took the boat two hours to make the distance, for one of the wheels was broken on the rocks and it had to be pulled most of the way.

The 21st. We had again the luck to run aground today, but got off in three hours and steamed bravely farther.

The 22nd. Today about 10 A.M. we steamed into the Mississippi, the water is very muddy and full of drift wood, just like the forest torrents after a heavy rain. If I could wish all the wood I see stranded on the sand bars, into the parish of Diessbach, they would have no need for many years to distribute their Beech parcels. Likewise if I could distribute to our poor at home all of the food that is thrown away on the steamers, we would need no poorhouse or poor act, for no food is served the second time—all that is not eaten the first time is thrown away, not only on the vessels but also in hotels and dwellings. A proof that there is not only enough, but the greatest overflow in this country. Today the first mate, who speaks German well, requested me to give him a full list of our people. I made him a table according to families and age, and who was to pay full or half fare or were free.

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The 23rd. The mate called me and I went with him to collect the fares; this done I asked him for a receipt; he said he could give me one as soon as the baggage was weighed and payment made for extra weight. Afternoon it was weighed and we had in all about 1800 lbs extra. We arrived this evening at St. Louis, and many Glarus people who lived there greeted us kindly, C. Wild, Henry Hosly, Fr. Blesi, Paulus Kundert; Fr. Schesser most interested me.

On the 24th. This morning there were lively times on the vessel, everything was packed into trunks and boxes and we put on our best clothes and I went with my family to visit C. Wild, but as we came into his house we found that his wife was sick unto death and he could therefore in no way entertain us, so full of grief was he. He owns a new house in a

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line part of the city and has a fine fountain with good water. We returned to the city and met H. Duerst with our baggage. I was glad to meet him and we rented a room wherein three families of us lived, cooked and slept. We paid \$2.00 for a month in advance, the same if we only occupied it 8 days. The other families are scattered here and there in groups of two and three.

On the 25th we all met together and held counsel as to our future movements, as we had not here found the experts sent to select our lands. There was however a letter from Messrs. H. & W. Blumer [of Allentown, Pa.], which informed us that the two experts, in Company with a Mr. Frey who had been added by Blumer, were in Peru, Illinois. So our company decided to send two men there and these two were Paulus Grob and myself. We went immediately to the river inquired after a steamer bound for that region. We found one which however only went as far as Peoria, 70 miles this side of Peru, as owing to the low water none could go farther. We make a contract to take us both to Peoria for \$3.00; and in case we returned and got passage for all of our people, that amount was to be deducted from the passage money. We informed our company and they were satisfied with the bargain. We reckoned that both of us would need 16 5-franc pieces for 325 fare and expenses. The Diessbachers gave me 8 of them, but with the condition that I keep separate account of my expenses alone; when I informed the others that they were to contribute the remainder there arose a great lament; no one wanted to give, although the expense was for the benefit of all. There was contention in which each accused the other of selfishness and greed; precious time was thus wasted, and our Steamer left without us, and two days were again wasted.

On the 26th. This morning the Diessbachers all came to me at my lodgings and declared if the others would not assist they would send one or two men alone. I told them I dare not venture such a trip alone. We went again to the others and agreed as before to send two. So we again went to the river and engaged passage on another boat going that way; it is entirely new and is to make its first trip and we are its first passengers.

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On the 27th. We paid our passage \$3.00 this morning to Peoria, and left the Mississippi and entered the Illinois River.

28th. This forenoon we started and it took four hours of hard work to move the boat from the spot. Much of the freight Salt, Whiskey and Sugar had to be loaded on a flat boat. In the night the Mosquitoes tormented us so that we could not close our eyes from night till morning. My hands were all swollen as if I had the worst kind of itch. This evening we asked of the Captain, knowing that there were only two or three cabin passengers, if he could not for small recompense allow us to sleep in a little room, as we had no bedding at all and had for two nights slept on floors and boxes without a particle of bedding. He let us know that if each paid one dollar he would provide beds for us. Of course we could not accept this, as we were now travelling at the expense of poor families. Thereupon a German, who had however been here over 40 years, gave us some bedding to use. We had hardly laid down when the boat again got stuck. Then arose a terrible thunder storm such as only America can produce. One peal followed another 326 close. In one respect we were glad of it for we believed the rain would raise the river; for nothing is more annoying than to desire to get along as fast as possible to carry out our mission, and then to be stuck on one spot.

29th Not until 9 A.M. today was it possible to move our boat slowly from the spot; we then steamed with various. degrees of speed until at 3 P.M. we again stranded. We tried our utmost and every one who had hands worked at the windlass but all in vain; towards evening another steamer came towards us which also ran aground, but through the efforts of their crew were able to get off in two hours. Both Grob and I looked longingly at the vessel for we believed it possible that Judge Duerst might be on it, but although the two boats came so close as to touch we were unable to discover him. A dreary impatience possessed us because of our delay; we laid us down but little sleep came into my eyes, partly because of the Mosquitoes, but principally because of the many people almost

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destitute of everything, that were waiting for our tidings at St. Louis. And we are having such a tedious trip.

30th. This morning all of the power and muscle on the boat was again applied to get us off. The wood was all used up, and we all went into the woods, the Captain included, and carried out wood; the steam power was raised to the highest point and about ten o'clock we again moved, but only four hours did fortune favor us; at two o'clock we were again stuck but only for an hour; towards evening we reached the village of Pekin and made ½ hour's halt; we used the time to purchase from a German, Swiss cheese, but made in America, and bread, for we had not provided enough in St. Louis for us, and on the boat food was too dear. We started and hoped to be in Peoria for night, but we stuck once more 5 miles from that place.

31st. Today we rose at dawn and as our boat was aground as if it had grown there, we went on a fiat boat also the crew; but you can imagine what snail's pace it was—a boat manned by only eight men loaded with many tons of freight to row against the stream; and some of them so drunk as to fall in the water at times; we only arrived at 12½ o'clock in Peoria. Here good counsel was scarce; we inquired at the Postoffice how far it was to Peru and the fare; it was 75 miles, they demand \$4.00 for each of us. We could not agree to that for we had only that much money in all with us. As there were no boats for Peru we had to march to Rome, a small village; here we met a German tailor, a friendly good man, he told us that near by a farmer named Underhill owned 1,000 acres enclosed land which he would rent in small or large parcels; it was plowed and he would supply tenants with cattle, tools and food and necessities on credit and that his rent could be paid with produce. The rent was \$1.00 per acre per year, or if one prefers, one third of the products. Dwellings were on the land and nearly all of the village belongs to the same man; and as it was called Rome, he was termed the Pope. The tavern in which we lodged belongs to him; we had to pay for lodging and two meals, one dollar for both.

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August 1st. This morning I went to the German tailor for whom I mended three tin dishes, while my companion Grob wrote a letter to St. Louis to report our trip so far. This tailor named Brodbeck urged me to settle here because there was no tinner here and the town was growing and much building was done. That although he was a tailor he had often mended tinware for farmers, for which they paid well; and as I understood working in copper and iron, I would find a bright future. I might first rent a few acres then buy. That he also came poor into this country and now had 2 cows, 4 calves, Hogs and a horse, a pretty house, and a good young wife, but I could not stay. We went always on foot, for the fare for us both was \$5.00 to Peru on the stage. Our road led us through regions that would rejoice the eye of the most despondent, many miles over the Prairies on which countless herds of cattle could have bathed in the thick rich grass. Then again through pleasant woods, good water everywhere and pure air, here and there a settler; at times we stopped and asked for and received buttermilk. We strode forward stoutly, neither of us quite sure that 328 we were following the right course, until about 2 P.M. we came to a farmhouse where we drank buttermilk again, and by signs asked the lady of the house to give us some dinner, which she promptly did and prepared us a good meal; we had Coffee this time and also Salad. In our Glarus land there is many a so-called hotel that could not entertain and provide as well as is the usual custom in even the poorest loghouses here. After we had refreshed and rested ourselves we sought to go farther, but it is tiresome to travel over fields where for miles there are no houses or shade trees to be seen. No water to quench our thirst, and for many hours meet no human being who might give us information, and those we meet we cannot make understand us; it is difficult to find out the names and distances of the different places. Some of them appear stupid to us. The oft-praised enterprise and activity of Americans seems to be lacking here; the people are said to work only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the year, half of which they plant and hoe and the other they harvest and gather their crops; the remainder of the time is spent in hunting or other favorite enjoyment or they lay on their backs and smoke cigars. The cattle cause them no care. They come towards the evening to the dwellings and if milk is needed so much is milked as they need, and then they are again driven off to the woods or prairies. Sheep

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are kept mostly for the wool, the yield of which every year pays the value of the sheep, for it is as dear as with us. The flesh of these animals has little value. We again reached the Illinois River and were ferried across into the village of Lacon; here we inquired of three Bavarian Jews how far it was to Peru, and who showed us the house of a German; he was from Alsace, named Schwarz, who had a large family, some grown sons, who were all very friendly and received us as if we were relatives and fed us well even to cooking an omellette in the morning. These people are only in this country four years, but have very much cattle, sheep, poultry and three horses, 100 acres of Land; it is 35 miles to Peru and we decided to get a teamster to take us the rest of the way even if our money was all to go, and 329 we be obliged to beg our way back. If only we could get there soon, so as to be relieved from this painful uncertainty. The oldest son of Schwarz hitched two horses to a wagon and drove with speed six miles, where he forded the river to the other side at the village of Henry, from there we rode over a prairie whereon for leagues in every direction no dwelling could be seen, not even a shrub, let alone a tree is to be met, but so much hay that all the barns in Glarus Land could not hold it, and no person to make use of it. Thousands of cows could feed here without the cost of a cent, because it is all Congress land; after passing over this Prairie we came to a log house where our horses were fed, and we prepared our dinner American fashion; after dinner we drove towards the forest and for many miles rattled over brush, stumps, stones, and ditches, over logs that we would saw into boards in Switzerland. So that at first I was scared; once we nearly capsized on a steep hillside—luckily one of the wheels caught in a stump, or team and contents would have rolled over to the bottom. We unhitched the horses and walked ½ mile till we came to a log house where lived a native who came back with us and helped to get our wagon to rights and showed us the proper direction to take. We had to drive with our team up a steep hillside covered with brush; there was no track; when we got to the top we drove a couple of miles through fine oak timber, but still trackless, and our driver was uncertain if we were right but drove on until we came to a house where we inquired the way, with the result that we had to turn back a mile to get the right road; then we drove until evening where we turned in at the house of a German from Bavaria, who

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entertained us in princely style. We sank deep in his fine feather beds; at our request this man accompanied us to Peru; as he was well acquainted there, we believed he might be able to assist us.

On the third of August arrived at Peru, and stopped with a German cooper and had dinner; afterwards went to the post office and made inquiries about the experts; the postmaster informed us that the three men had gone to Wisconsin 330 and had given directions in case letters for them should arrive to forward them. Then we were in great straits; our money is nearly all gone, and it costs 12 dollars for us both on the stage to Wisconsin. As we were engaged in fruitless discussion on our condition, a countryman of ours, named John Freuler of Ennethuehls came to us; we asked him if he could lend us this money until we could find the experts, when we would send it back. He not only was ready to loan it, but offered to travel with us although he was at work here; we went ourselves in the evening to see his employer, who did all in his power to induce him to stay, but Freuler resolved to go with us. We had to remain once more overnight with the cooper in Peru. Peru was founded 8 years ago and is not large yet. The Illinois River flows on one side of it and on the other is a mountain. There is only one street through it, there are two churches. It is believed that it will be an important place when the canal now being built shall be completed, which shall connect Peru with Chicago.

On the 4th my companions Grob and Freuler went out about a mile to engage a farmer if possible who would carry us for less money than the stage, but the farmer had other uses for his horses and another asked 30 dollars. So we found it best to take the stage, where we each paid \$3.18, At 8 A. M., we left in an old stage which ought long since to have been retired; besides us three there was a gentleman, his wife and son; we rode in this ancient chest about 16 miles where the horses and stage were changed, but such a miserable conveyance, a farmer's wagon with a torn cover of the kind that gypsies use with us, and a road on which God's mercy was needed; the horses were changed every five hours; for these, it is a pity that they cannot run on a Glarus road. In America everything is the opposite of Switzerland,—here the horses excel those of the noblest lord,

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but the most miserable beggarly vehicles; there, elegant carriages, but mostly poor mean horses; when the mail arrived at Glarus the horses nearly fell from exhaustion; here, at the end of their stage, one could hardly hold 331 them; there were always four hitched up and we rode the whole day over prairie vast as an ocean; for many miles we could see nothing but the sky and the meadows, no tree, shrub, house or person to be seen; the eye was lost in its immensity; then came the seam of a forest which reminded me of the time when we first saw land from the Ocean. In the vacant land we saw today, all Glarus would have room,—no. one uses it, and the grass rots where it grows; the roads are very poor, when one track becomes worn or impassible another is made alongside so that often 3, 4 or more tracks are thus made. At 6 P.M. we arrived at the village of Stepton, on the Rock River; here we got another driver and changed horses but not wagons; after riding six miles the whole outfit was ferried across the river to the village of Grand Detour, where we spent the night in the stage station for which we paid a dollar for all three, without breakfast.

On the 5th at 3 A.M. we again started in a better wagon and again splendid horses; and at 8 A.M. arrived at Freeport where we ate a hearty breakfast and only 25 cents for all three. In Freeport we had a still better wagon and three more passengers, of whom two were from Pennsylvania and could speak good German. They commended our project very much, they assured us that we would succeed especially well in the manner in which we had planned. We arrived at a station near dark, which lies lonely near a wood, but in which we had a supper at a price equal to that of the Hotel Bauer, in Zurich. Changed horses and wagons and again rattled with great speed until we reached Galena, where we got out in a heavy storm and remained at the stage station over night.

Next morn. the 6th, we had breakfast at a German tavern. Yesterday we rode through a most charming country; even the two Pennsylvanians greatly admired it and said that the people in Pa. had no conception of its great beauty—how much less those in Germany. About 12 o'clock we arrived on foot at Apple River 10 miles from Galena; here we are already in Wisconsin Territory. Lead is mined everywhere, 332 often found only a few feet

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below the surface and nearly pure; it merely requires melting and casting in forms. 1000 lbs. mineral brings \$19.00. Often a man is able to mine many hundred lbs. in one day, on the other hand many hunt for weeks and find nothing. I have just learned that Captain Enz, who lived at Constance, whom I visited there in 1834 with my father, lives 19 miles from here and keeps a boarding house; at this place we got a team that took us 20 miles; we had walked 10 miles. This place is newly started and I cannot find its name.

On the 7th We did not wait for our teamster this morning, but left at 4 A.M. and walked the distance of twelve miles to Mineral Point by 9 o'clock, and had breakfast with a farmer on the way. After arriving at Mineral Point we again made inquiries for the experts and found that they had bought land 30 miles from here, and were waiting with longing for us, for they had received no news at all from or concerning us. We resolved therefore to travel there as the object of our trip was there—namely, the finding of the experts. A kindly German made inquiries for a conveyance for us, for in a sparsely settled country like this where one sees no houses often for 6 leagues, it is not well to travel on foot especially when one is in haste as we are. We ate dinner and asked if the team were ready; the answer came that we must first pay eight dollars before a start would be made. This perplexed us. We had not seen any money for a long time, and Freuler had only a 20-franc piece left, which we would need for food on the way. So we went to our German and unfolded our condition to him, for we wanted to fulfill our commission at all hazards, even to selling the coats from our backs for the means; but this honest, kindly German did not desert us in our need, he gave his written security for us, and on this they drove off with us. After riding 25 miles we came to a lonely house where we staid over night.

They had told us at Mineral Point that the experts were located only 6 miles from this place, but the people here said it was 20 miles or more further, and it almost appeared 333 to me that an invisible charm kept us from getting any nearer to these men. But we left here this 8th of August at 7½ A. M. and rode all the time until afternoon, when our teamster switched off to the right and drove a couple of miles through a valley, where we finally came to a log house and saw again human beings the first since morning. Our

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teamster made inquiries and ascertained that they were yet 2 miles further on; again we proceeded to another house, there our driver halted and would go no farther. We however prevailed upon him to at least go with us on foot and show us the direction to take, for there was neither track nor road. A boy showed us along a piece further in the proper direction, until we saw men. Grob and I had taken another direction, but had to turn back because we could not cross the creek which flows through our land and which swarms with good fish. Judge Duerst and Mr. Streiff saw us floundering along, and in the supposition that perhaps we were people of their company, they came to meet us. The feelings that then rose in us, I cannot and will not describe. To all of us came the tears of joy. After the excitement of finding each other had subsided in a measure, we went into the huts they had made at first. You may imagine that from both sides came many questions and answers until late at night. They prepared supper for us—Judge Duerst baked the bread. We also the same evening walked a short distance over our land and enjoyed the splendid sight—it is beautiful beyond expectation. Excellent timber, good soil, many fine springs and a stream filled with fish. Water sufficient therein the whole year to drive a mill or saw mill. Wild grapes in abundance. Much game, Deer, Prairie Chicken and Hares, in short all that one could expect. This 8th August is therefore the fortunate day on which we arrived at the glad certainty as to the whereabouts of our land and our expert pioneers.

On the 9th of August we, Judge Duerst and I, rode away, to bring our people from St. Louis to the settlement with a Mr. Rodolf a Swiss from Aargau who had been here to assist our experts for several days. He had been their 334 guide in the search for land and conveyed them from place to place with his horses.¹ Mr. Grob and Freuler, who had come with me from Peru, staid, but came with us a short way to cut a road through the woods and to mark the trees so we should not get lost; but it began to rain in streams, which compelled them to return. But we took some stakes along, to drive into the prairies the better to find the return route; we so proceeded until noon when we had dinner with a farmer. In the evening we arrived at Mr. Rodolf's farm of 220 acres, but he has no wife.

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1 See Theodore Rodolf's "Reminiscences of Wisconsin Territory," *post*. He advised the Swiss colonists; and his brother Frederick entertained them at the family farm on which the Rodolfs had settled in 1834.— Ed.

We staid there over night and the next morning on the 10th went afoot to Galena where we arrived in the evening after a hard march; this same evening we went to the river to see about a steamer; there were two but both were bound up the river; on one of them however we learned that another would arrive in the night to return tomorrow to St. Louis. We went to get some much needed rest, especially I, who from the hardships undergone had a severe dysentery which has much weakened me.

On the evening of the 11th we really saw from the garret window where we three had slept on a straw tick, that another steamer had arrived. We hurried to get there but I had not proceeded more than half way, having been delayed, when to my glad astonishment I saw Judge Duerst completely surrounded by our people; what a scene that was!2 I had in my thoughts already pictured the joy of meeting them again with Judge Duerst at my side. I joined myself to the crowd and I was also greeted with glad shouts. How much greater was the gladness with the Judge? for we Diessbachers especially, loved him as our life. So much depended

2 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 359, 360. The remainder of the party, left in St. Louis, alarmed at the long absence of Mathias Duerst and Paulus Grob, had engaged passage to Galena, happening to arrive there on the evening before Judge Nicholas Duerst had reached that town to engage passage to St. Louis, to escort them to Wisconsin.— Ed.

Fridolin Streiff, a New Glarus Pioneer (From photograph loaned by John Luchsinger.)

335 upon him. But the greatest pleasure is often dimmed. I found my wife quite sick. When we arrived at St. Louis she was more fleshy than ever before, now she appeared like shadow. It was high time for all to leave St. Louis; the unhealthy climate there has already cost us five human lives, all however children, of whom the oldest was the 11-

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year-old son of Henry Stauffacher of Matt. The intoxicating joy did not subside for some time, for our people are not yet naturalized to control their feelings. In this country, people make little show on going and coming, and when a child departs from the parents, even for life, the only expression of feeling is a clasp of the hands and a short good bye from both sides. But I am parting from my subject nearly as easily as one American parts from another. But there was much to be done now, first the baggage had to be weighed. The contract was that they should pay 25 cents for overweight. The Captain had ordered it loaded into a fiat boat, a heavy storm broke upon it and nothing having been covered and many of the trunks having been broken by the frequent handling, we had cause for complaint not only because of overweight but also for damaged baggage. The Judge had a letter of reference to one Mr. Zoya, he and Grob went to see him and I was detailed to supervise the weighing and note each one's weight. I got into a hot argument with the Captain—I held up the rainwashed bed clothing under his nose, so that he drove me off the boat twice. But without fear I came back the third time. I told our people we would weigh the baggage, note it down and bring it ashore, and not pay anything, and so it went, though George Legler and another were obliged to be surety for the freight charges. The Judge and Mr. Grob engaged a dwelling so as to bring the people under the shelter of a roof, for there were yet several sick among them. The Judge himself engaged a German doctor who wrote down the ailment of each patient and prescribed the necessary medicines. The Judge decided that a troop of the men should go on foot in advance, partly because the expense of travel would be less, but 336 more important to provide further accommodations on the land. He bought us 4 hams and gave me the task to go to our land with these men, because he believed I could find the way better than, alas, I did find it. This was for me a hard task; my sick wife implored me with tears not to leave her again, for even though the others promised to care for her their first thoughts would be for themselves. I really needed a couple of days' rest myself for I was greatly exhausted from my trip, and the third very important point was, that I was expected to show 17 men the way, and was hardly sure that I could find it again, for America is no Glarus land. For there, there is only one, but a good road, and villages every $\frac{1}{4}$ league,

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or houses where one can speak to people; but here, there are very many and bad roads which often cross each other, running over prairies taking $\frac{1}{2}$ day to cross, or through equally long stretches of timber in which there are many by-roads and other roads leading sometimes to settlements,—such roads are often better than the chief roads; then again 10 to 20 miles with no house, and when finally one reaches a house we cannot understand each other; often we meet people who give little or nothing for good money. All these things one at home cannot imagine. I declared I would go if my wife consented, then they all urged her to consent, and she finally said yes. Then a start was made, everyone was impatient to be gone, we waited only until the Judge had returned from the doctor's to get the medicines. Too much haste in Baltimore no doubt caused the great delay at St. Louis. Well, we marched off about 4 o'clock and traveled until late in the night and found we had already gone astray but not seriously. We lay down in a shed, in straw and dirt.

On the morning of the 12th, again went forward until we came to a village which I recognized. We would have liked to leap for joy, but our weary legs did not carry out our desire. Baltz Duerst especially had been ill the day before and today was worse, and had he not at home been hardened by excessive labor, he would have succumbed. We thronged along the whole day until 4 o'clock when we came to a house, and not far from that house I should have turned off to the right in the woods. I did not observe it, but soon saw that I had missed the road; fearful of hearing reproaches, in the hope soon to again reach the right course, I gathered my strength together and ran ahead. I came to a house, the others soon came along and we had some milk boiled for Baltz, it refreshed him considerably. From this house it would have been only $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to Mr. Rodelf had I had the luck to have taken a hardly visible timber road. I however followed a plain track which led to a wood; the fear of going wrong spurred me. I felt no more weariness. I sprang ahead like a deer until I met a horseman who led another saddled horse. I at once inquired for Mr. Rodelf and he gave me to understand that he knew him and lived 2 miles from him. He urged me to sit on the other horse. I gave him to understand that I preferred going on foot until we met the men who followed me. On meeting them he dismounted and traced with

a stick in the dust the direction we should take; he would not allow me to dismount, but rode with me ahead in another direction. I did not then know for what reason; he took me over hills and ravines and through brush so that we often had to lie down on our horses, to avoid being brushed off. It was only so that we should get to Rodolf sooner, so as to give him notice of our arrival. The man informed Rodolf what was coming and I turned and ran again to meet the men. and brought them to the house where we found refreshments. Mr. Rodolf placed everything at our command; but one can imagine how it is to get 18 men at once into one's house and to entertain them. 23

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PIONEERING IN THE WISCONSIN LEAD REGION. BY THEODORE RODOLF.¹

¹ Theodore Rodolf was born in the Canton of Aargau, Switzerland, October 17, 1815; he died at La Crosse, Wis., February 12, 1892. Mr. Rodolf was a graduate of the college of Aàràn, and was for a time a student at the University of Zurich. As stated in his narrative, he came to America when seventeen years of age, and settled in La Fayette County, Wis. In 1853 he was appointed receiver of the land office in La Crosse. He was a presidential elector in 1864; a member of the state assembly in 1868 and 1870, and during the same period was mayor of La Crosse. Mr. Rodolf's reminiscences were written in 1889 at the instance of the present Editor, who consented to their first publication as a serial, in the *La Crosse Chronicle* in May and June of that year.— Ed.

On the first day of April, 1884, I took passage at St. Louis on a neat little steamer, the name of which I cannot recollect, but which was a regular upper Mississippi packet whose destination was Galena, the commercial metropolis of the northwestern lead mines, which were rapidly growing in extent and importance. My object in undertaking this voyage was to explore the yet comparatively new country in quest of a suitable home for my mother and her family. We had ascended the Mississippi from New Orleans to avoid the yellow fever; and passed the winter of 1833–34 at St. Louis, where we had formed pleasant acquaintances and friendships among the French settlers who at that time constituted the

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majority of the population. Among those, we were particularly well received by the family of John Pierre Bugnion Gratiot, to whom we brought strong letters of recommendation, and by Messrs. Pierre Chouteau, John P. Cabanne, Chenier, and others.

Gratiot's father, Charles, was born at Lausanne, on Lake Geneva, Switzerland. The family, French Huguenots, were 339 obliged to emigrate at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., and settled in Switzerland, where many other French exiles found a refuge and security from religious persecution. When quite a young man, however, J. P. B. Graftot found his way to St. Louis, then a small French settlement, entered the service of the Northwestern Fur Company, married Miss Chouteau, and made St. Louis his permanent home, becoming wealthy.¹

¹ See E. B. Washburne's biographical sketch of Henry Gratiot, and incidentally of Charles, the founder of the house, and the other members of the family, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 235–260.— Ed.

Gratiot had a considerable interest in the lead mines. He possessed mines as well as smelting furnaces, and intended to move his family to Galena so soon as spring had fairly opened, and he persuaded us to go up with him and his family to the lead mines, saying that the climate of St. Louis was exceedingly unhealthy in summer and that the Northwest Territory, in addition to health, would give us an opportunity to select a home more congenial to our ideas and habits than a residence in a slaveholding state. My father was opposed to going into the wilderness; but to us boys, visions of a life a la “Robinson Crusoe” danced before our imagination and we were delighted with the idea. My father had some business matters to settle in New Orleans, after which he promised to join us in our new home. He descended to New Orleans, but never came back. That summer he fell a victim to yellow fever, and was buried there.

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My father's brother and only living near relative on his side, then quite a young man, having graduated at the University of Heidelberg, had concluded to join us in our emigration, and he and I were selected to make the voyage of exploration.

The boat on which we embarked was a clean and comfortable craft, a high-pressure steamer, whose puffing could be heard miles ahead. The cabin was plainly but substantially furnished, and kept very clean. There were no state rooms; but two tiers of bunks, containing the beds, 340 ran along the sides of the boat and were separated at night from the saloon by curtains. The fare was substantial, plentiful, and good, and the officers were pleasant and gentlemanly; all the arrangements were more perfect than I had anticipated.

I had devoted most of my time during the winter to the study of the English language, so that I was able to carry on a conversation with our fellow passengers. Besides, there were several gentlemen from Galena on board—merchants and business men returning home after having passed the winter at St. Louis—Swiss and Germans with whom I could converse in French or German, and from whom I gathered valuable and interesting information about the celebrated lead mines of Illinois and Wisconsin. Our progress was rather slow. There being no opposition lines or competition, the boats did not care to overtax their capacity of speed; besides, they stopped at every landing place on the river, loading or unloading, or taking on wood, so that a journey of eight days from St. Louis to Galena was considered a very fair trip.

One morning we stopped at a place called Louisiana in Missouri, to take on wood. I do not know whether it was at the exact place where the present city of Louisiana now is, but it cannot be far from it. About half a dozen log cabins, surrounded by rail fences, composed the place. An incident took place here, which has left a lasting impression on my mind, it being so entirely novel to me, and the first characteristic trait of frontier life that had yet come to my personal knowledge. There came on board a gaunt, tall man who addressed the gentlemen in the cabin, saying that he and his family had come out here with the

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intention of making a permanent home; that they were, however, all taken sick with fever and ague; that they were anxious to return to their Eastern home, being convinced that they could not live here. They had, however, no means to go back. but that he owned a lot with a cabin on it, with some improvements, and that he wished to sell the same to raise money enough to enable him to go East. 341 He proposed to raffle his property at \$5 a ticket. He would place in a hat twenty-five tickets, numbered from 1 to 25, one of the tickets marked "prize;" and to whoever drew the prize he would deed the place. The deed, already executed in blank, he had with him. Every passenger that felt himself able took a ticket, and the settler thus placed about twenty of them. Five were not taken, but the passengers allowed these five tickets to remain in the hat as belonging to the settler. I, as the youngest passenger on board, was selected to draw the tickets out of the hat. I drew as many tickets as were sold, but the prize was not drawn, it being among the five unsold tickets voted to the settler. So he got his pay for the tickets sold, and won his place back again. I believe everybody was well pleased with the result. Nobody desired the man's home; all that we desired was to help the poor man to raise the means to return to his Eastern home. Whether after this he got better and decided to stay in Louisiana, or whether he actually left the country. I never knew, but it showed the kind heart and the generosity of the Western people which fifty years ago were more common traits than at the present time.

After passing Keokuk, then a very small settlement, and nearing Rock Island, we found the shores lined with large numbers of Indians. These were the remnants of the Sacs and Foxes who, under the lead of Black Hawk, had lately waged war against the settlers, and, having been defeated at the battle of Bad Axe, had returned to their homes, previous to their removal west of the Mississippi. They were peaceable, and caused no more trouble afterwards. They were the first Indians I had yet seen living in their own settlement. During our stay in St. Louis very few had visited the city, but the effect of their intercourse with the pale faces was already visible in their behavior, by adopting some of the lowest vices of their new acquaintances and losing that loftiness of character with which Fenimore Cooper

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has endowed his savage heroes. These followers of Black Hawk showed, as yet, no effect of contamination; 342 they impressed me as being, physically, a superior race, and their stoicism and imperturbability were astonishing. We visited Fort Armstrong, on the island, and then continued our trip up stream.

It is useless for me to describe the magnificent scenery that presented itself to our view all along the river. It was more picturesque and charming than at the present day, because it was still in its natural glory. The villages and embryo cities were small, often simple landing places, giving, however, indications of the future growth and improvements which have made the states of Illinois and Iowa the great and prosperous commonwealths we find them to-day.

On the morning of the 8th of April, 1834, we entered Fever River, a small stream which empties into the Mississippi from the east, steamed up that river about six miles, and landed safely at Galena, which was at that time the most important city of the northwest. The day was clear and bright, and Galena, built as it was upon the side of a hill, the streets forming terraces one above the other, presented a most picturesque view, far superior to anything I had expected to find in a country which but a few years before was almost unknown to civilization and had but recently emerged from the horrors of a cruel Indian war. It was a most pleasant surprise. The country around Galena for a distance of forty or fifty miles east and north was dotted with crude log furnaces for smelting the mineral, the products of all of which had to be hauled by teams to this port for shipment down to St. Louis, from which place it found its way all over the country. This industry gave employment to a large number of people. The principal shippers at the time of my arrival were William Hempstead, Messrs. Henry and Nathan Corwith, Campbell & Smith, Moorehouse, and many others. There were several stores in the town, with well assorted stocks of goods, suitable to supply the wants and necessities of the settlers and miners throughout the country, and the volume of business transactions was surprising.

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We delivered our letters to the friends of Mr. Gratiot, and after resting a few days started on our exploring expedition under the lead of James G. Soulard, the acquaintance of whose mother we had made at St. Louis, and a Mr. Goss, the business agent of Mr. Gratiot. We left Galena on a bright morning on horseback to visit Col. Henry Gratiot, a brother of J. P. B. Gratiot, at Gratiot's Grove, which lies about twenty miles northeast of Galena, within the lines of Wisconsin. The road led through a very fine country, alternately prairie and hill, crossing Fever River, which we had to ford. The Fever is a large creek rather than a river, and is not navigable above Galena, and there only during high water in the Mississippi, which causes the slack water to overflow all low lands. During low water it was a most arduous and slow undertaking to bring boats up to the city, and often quite impossible.

An old Canadian voyageur informed me that the name of the stream was "Rivière aux Fèves," or "Bean river," owing to the large amount of wild beans growing along its banks, from which it was corrupted to Fever River. This name is calculated to do injury to the climate of the country, for I never heard that fevers were prevalent along the stream, and Galena has always been considered a healthy place.

We passed through Council Hill, Benton, New Diggings, and other small settlements. On every side we saw scores of men digging and prospecting for mineral, and windlasses in operation. Towards evening we reached Gratiot's Grove, and were hospitably received and entertained by Mrs. Gafter in the absence of her husband, the colonel.

Gratiot's Grove presented even at this early season a most charming prospect; as it appeared a month later, I have never seen it surpassed in Wisconsin. Before us lay a rolling prairie, bounded on the north by the Blue Mound about thirty miles distant, and extending east to the Peckatonica River, whose course could be traced faintly by wooded hills; the prairie was bounded on the south and west by a magnificent grove of oaks, the destruction of which had been, however, already begun, as the voracious smelting 344

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furnaces mercilessly claimed the sacrifice of the splendid trees which were the pride and glory of the "Grove."

From this first visit dated our close friendship with the family of Henry Gratiot. Mrs. Gratiot was a sister of William Hempstead, commission merchant, and Charles Hempstead, a distinguished lawyer of Galena. She was a lady of cultivated mind and great firmness; endowed with the kindest of feelings, benevolent, and a devoted wife and mother. A youthful friendship sprang up between the children at home with their mother and myself. I particularly remember Susan, afterwards Mrs. Kimball; Adèle, afterwards the wife of E. B. Washburne, who with such signal success later filled the difficult position of minister to France during the Franco-Prussian war. Many pleasant hours we spent together, and although after the death of Colonel and Mrs. Gratiot we have not often met, yet the recollection of those early days lingers as one of the green spots in my memory. The last time I saw Mrs. Washburne was at the funeral of Gov. Cadwallader C. Washburne. Since then she and her husband have both gone to their last home, like many others of the pioneers.

The next morning we visited the settlement of the "Grove," the stores, warehouse, and smelting works. The latter were of the most primitive character, and a very large percentage of the lead was lost in the operation. I also visited the school, where to my surprise I found a small class of country boys studying Latin and Greek, besides the common branches taught in the primary schools. None of the boys could have been over fifteen or sixteen years of age. The schoolmaster, I think his name was Cubbage, made them read and parse for my benefit in Cicero's Orations and Homer's Iliad.

We were informed that Henry Gratiot was in the woods on the Peckatonica River, getting out timber to be floated down the river to Wolf's Creek and then up that stream to a place afterwards known as Gratiot, for the purpose of building a flour mill, the first in that section of the country. So we resumed our journey and followed a track 345 made by "sucker" teams hauling lead from Hamilton's settlement, the smelting works of William S. Hamilton,

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to Galena, a distance of some forty miles. During the summer months, when the prairies were covered with their luxuriant carpets of green, people from the adjoining state of Illinois would come up into the mines, with their ox-teams of five or six or more yokes of oxen, to do all the heavy teaming, hauling the lead from the furnaces to Galena, a distance of forty or fifty miles, camping out nights, and sleeping in their wagons. They brought their own provisions with them, and the prairies furnished feed for their cattle. The more frugal and hard-working men saved all the money they could. But as soon as the first frost killed the grass in the fall, they started for their home, to reappear in the spring. The people called them “suckers” because they appeared in the spring and disappeared in the fall like the sucker fish.

From Gratiot's Grove until we reached the Peckatonica, a distance of about twenty miles, we did not meet a human being. It was too early yet for “sucker” teams,¹ nor did we pass any settlement, house, field, or tree. What astonished us most was the utter absence of game. With the exception of a plover or a curlew, and an occasional prairie chicken, the prairie appeared as devoid of living beings as the desert of Sahara. In a few weeks later, when spring had fairly set in, a most wonderful change was manifest. The vast prairie, as far as the eye could reach, was clothed with a carpet of the richest green, interspersed with gorgeous wild flowers of brilliant hues of red, blue, and yellow, in fact of every color of the rainbow—reminding one of the garden of Eden, as our youthful fancies never fail to paint it for us. I could not then realize that in a few months the ice king would ruthlessly destroy and bury under a depth of three or four feet of snow all that glory and magnificence. Towards sundown we reached the Peckatonica, a handsome stream of clear water winding its slow and very

1 Meaning teams from Illinois.— Ed.

346 crooked course around hills and through open prairie, in a southeasterly direction, to its junction with the Rock.

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Here we struck the first settlement we had seen or reached that day. A squatter named Hastings had built himself a log cabin and outhouses, and lived there with his family, keeping a sort of tavern. The village of Riverside is now built where this lonely cabin stood fifty-five years ago. We enquired of Hastings where we could find Gratiot, and he informed us that he was across the river in the timber. We rode on about one and a half or two miles till we struck the fording place. Crossing the river, which in the spring was very high, we for some distance had to swim our horses. We crossed in safety, and this being my first adventure of that nature I greatly enjoyed the novelty. We then rode along the bottom and soon heard the sound of the woodchoppers' axes, and guided by them found the camp, shortly after sundown, and were most cordially received by Colonel Gratiot.

There was no flour mill within forty or fifty miles, and Gratiot and Curtis concluded to build one about six miles from this camp upon Wolf Creek, where an excellent waterpower was available. The timber cut in the bottom was first floated down the Peckatonica to the mouth of Wolf Creek, then towed up that stream to this place, which afterward grew into a village called Gratiot, and which for more than thirty years was the residence of my oldest brother Frederick.

We were thoroughly tired, hungry, and wet after crossing the river. Not having had a mouthful to eat since morning, the men hurried up supper for us. Sitting before a large fire outside of the tent, we soon succeeded in drying ourselves, and were prepared to do ample justice to our meal, which consisted principally of roasted potatoes, cornbread, and catfish caught in the Peckatonica.

After eating, we crept into our tent and had a delightful rest till morning, which broke clear and pleasant, although I thought I heard distant thunder. I was greatly astonished as I could see no clouds or any indication of a storm. 347 I was informed the thunder I heard was the drumming made by the cock pheasant, to call around him his female companions.

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After breakfast we started to visit William S. Hamilton¹ at Fort Hamilton or Hamilton's Diggings, now called Wiota, Henry Gratiot accompanying us. Passing through some fine timber lands, and then over more rolling prairies, we reached Fort Hamilton by a circuitous route, towards evening, and found Hamilton at home. Although I did not expect to find a solid, strong, imposing structure, such as I had seen on the Rhine, nor a residence such as a colonel commanding a fort might be expected to occupy, yet I confess I had all romance taken out of me when I found the fort consisted of two small log cabins, connected with each other by an open area, covered by clapboards.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 270, for sketch of Col. William Stephen Hamilton.— Ed.

The temporary defenses which had been erected during the Black Hawk War, a short time previous, had been removed, and nothing remained that would particularly remind one of scenes of blood and murder. The doors had no bolts or locks but simply a latch-string hanging out; the single opening in each cabin, intended for a window, had, if I remember rightly, no glass. The furniture corresponded with the building: a rude bedstead with some blankets and buffalo robes for bedding, an oaken table, some wooden stools, and a few shelves filled with books, among which a fine quarto edition of the works of Voltaire, printed in Paris, attracted my particular attention. The colonel had been a French scholar, but his long residence in the Far West, and his settlement at this place since 1828, together with his busy life as a smelter, left him no time to cultivate literary tastes; yet he was still able to carry on a conversation in French on ordinary topics with me. I had picked up sufficient English to help out when we both were embarrassed. I forgot to mention that Henry Gratiot and James G. Soulard both spoke the French language 348 perfectly well, that having been the native language of their parents.

Hamilton's Diggings presented not nearly as handsome or pleasing a prospect as Gratiot's Grove. The hills were nearly bare of trees, having been cut down to feed the furnaces; and although the mound at Belmont, the Platte Mound, and the Blue Mound formed the frame of the panorama, yet the view was not so extended and charming as from Gratiot's. It is

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true there were more settlements and cultivated fields in view, but the prairie was cut up by numerous mineral holes, piles of dirt, and windlasses, which marred the beauty of the landscape, but showed great activity and industry.

It is to this fort that the settlers and miners fled for protection during the Black Hawk War. It is from here that Henry Dodge started with his little band of volunteers to fight the battle of Peckatonica on the 16th day of June, 1832, in which every one of the savages was killed in a hand-to-hand fight. The settlers lost three killed and one wounded. With many of the survivors I was intimately acquainted.

At the time of my visit, the blockhouse and defence created two years before had disappeared; only the dwelling part remained, being neither better nor worse than any other log cabin. No traveler would have suspected that any military camp or fort had, such a short time before, occupied the place. All the romance or pomp of war had vanished as by enchantment, and the mineral holes, the windlasses, log furnaces, and ox teams reminded us that the only war now carried on was one of work—labor and industry against nature—for the purpose of raising the hidden treasure of mother earth.

The next few days, having been joined by Hamilton, we extended our explorations in all directions, hunting for a place suitable to make a settlement. About four or five miles southwest of Fort Hamilton, an old man named Lot, and his son Haman, had settled on the bank of the Peckatonica River some years ago, before the land had been surveyed 349 by the United States. He was a regular squatter, a typical backwoodsman. He had broken and fenced in a few acres of land, built a log house for himself and another one for his son, also the necessary log stables, cribs, and a good spring house. He owned a span of horses, and a dozen or more of cows and other cattle, hogs and chickens—in fact everything necessary to start a farm, but he did not seem to be very industrious nor fond of work. He devoted more time to trapping and hunting than to farming, and so did his son. His nearest neighbors north were Hamilton's settlement about five miles distant; on the east, not a vestige of a habitation could be seen or was known for miles. On the west,

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the nearest settler was Hastings, across the river some five miles; but on the south, a few miles away, J. R. Schultz, a Pennsylvania German, had lately made his home, with his wife and children,¹ and a mile or so farther Stephen Armstrong and his wife had located. The old man Lot felt that he was getting crowded, and therefore desired to move farther west, where he would have more room for his pursuits. He was well known to Gratiot and to Hamilton, and to his place we went with a view of buying his claim, if it suited and we could agree. We left the whole matter to our friends, neither my uncle nor I feeling competent to express any opinion. The result was that we bought the place with all his stock of horses, cattle, hogs, and implements for my mother. I do not remember what the consideration was, but I was satisfied with the bargain, the location being quite pleasing.

¹ The *History of La Fayette County* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1881), p. 592: "In 1833, J. R. Schultz and Peter Corish settled in the town [Gratiot]. Of Mr. Schultz it is related that he was an honorable and generous-hearted but fire-eating Kentuckian, who taught his children to fight on the slightest insult against their honor, or expect a sound drubbing from him if they did not. He was a highly respected citizen, and lived here many years."— Ed.

The houses were built upon a hill and stood in the midst of several acres of cultivated land. To the east was a river-bottom field of about the same size. In front the Peckatonica 350 flowed past, forming a large and picturesque band bordered by a row of willows into which a good-sized creek emptied its clear and transparent waters, up which the trout could be seen swimming. On the northwest a fine grove of oaks and elms completed the picture.

Of course Lot could give no title to the land, as he had none; it was not yet in market. But it had just been surveyed by the United States surveyors, and it appeared that he had settled on the corner of four quarter sections, so that when the land came to be offered for sale we had the chance of selecting whatever portion we desired. Of course I had not the slightest knowledge of the United States laws regulating the entries and sale of public lands, but trusted implicitly to our friends that all was right; and relied on the promise of Lot

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that he would prove up his claim when the proper time came, and that he would remain on the place until my mother and family came up from St. Louis to take possession. After all things had been properly and satisfactorily arranged, Colonel Hamilton left for his home, and we started on our return journey to Gratiot's Grove.

Hamilton was a man of culture, active, and enterprising. Although he had lived for many years among the roughest and hardest class of men, the miners and adventurers of early days, he retained and exhibited, when he so desired, the polish of his early training. In stature he was of medium height, stout, well built, and of robust health, able to bear the hardships of frontier life. During the Black Hawk War he had exhibited great courage and rendered valuable services. He was the youngest son of Alexander Hamilton, the father of Federalism, and had imbibed his father's political principles. Socially he was pleasant, but not communicative, and left the impression of a rather cold and distant man. He emigrated to California after the discovery of the gold mines and there died.

We spent another pleasant day with Henry Grafton and his family, at the Grove. Gratiot had abandoned the business of smelting and mining, to devote his time to farming 351 and land transfers; besides, his official duties as Indian agent required a good deal of his time. He was a man of fine appearance and carriage, gifted with rare suavity of manners, which won the confidence and respect of all with whom he came in contact. His probity was proverbial. His open, straightforward dealing with the Indians had won him the friendship of all the tribes then inhabiting the lead mine region. Several times the chiefs had saved his life, even from the Sacs and Foxes, and he was enabled to use his influence for the benefit and protection of the settlers.

There was a marked contrast between him and Hamilton. The latter was a keen, shrewd business man, mostly devoted to money-making; rather unsuccessful in this, but developing all the smartness of a real Yankee in trade. Gratiot, on the other hand, was open-hearted, frank, almost indifferent to gain, devoted to his family, looking upon the acquisition of riches not as the prime object of life, but simply as the means to successfully

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carry out his undertakings, to provide for his family, and to assist friends and neighbors. One showed the characteristics of English ancestry, while in the other could easily be traced the distinguishing traits of the French.

The death of Gratiot, which occurred two years after my first acquaintance with him, while on his return from a visit to his brother, Gen. Charles Gratiot, Jr., at Washington, was a great loss to this section of the country and he was universally regretted and mourned.

On our return to Galena, we found that my mother's family had arrived from St. Louis and were the guests of Mrs. Adèle Gratiot,¹ who had also come up with her family, and occupied a very pleasant and convenient residence, which her husband had built for her. We acquainted them with our purchase, and it was decided that we should move upon our land as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the weather had changed, and snow and rain fell, as usual in April, and

¹ See "Mrs. Adèle P. Gratiot's Narrative," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 261–275. She was the wife of John P. B. Gratiot.— Ed.

352 the streets in Galena were turned into regular sloughs, becoming almost impassable. The soil being pure clay, the mud was knee deep, and whoever was obliged to cross the streets had to tuck his trousers into his bootlegs. Our time was mostly occupied in unloading our household goods, which had been brought up from St. Louis, and were stored in the loft of a warehouse.

In all my travels through the mines I had not met a single German or German-speaking miner or settler. In the city, however, there were a number of German or Swiss gentlemen doing business, with whom I afterwards got acquainted. Of these I remember Messrs. Schirmer, Binger, Chetlain, Rindisbacher, Smith, and others, all in comfortable circumstances; but I found none among the laboring people, except one man who was helping to store our goods.

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Toward the end of April or the beginning of May, we had finally settled upon our claim.¹ My mother and sisters occupied one of the cabins for their room, and we boys slept in the larger one, which served also as our living room and kitchen, wherein the family always gathered. The weather had cleared up, and on the fourth of May the sun rose in all its glory and gave us a real summer day. One of our neighbors came and told us that it was time to attend to our fields, and offered to show us how to plant corn. My older brother, who was of a practical turn of mind, and my younger brothers who thought it fun to work in a field, at once entered upon their new occupation. But I, being of a rather delicate constitution, felt totally unfit to do any manual labor. I had spent my whole life in schools and colleges, and had entered the university of Zurich, which was instituted about six months before our emigration.

¹ *History of La Fayette Co.*, p. 592, says: "In 1834, a Swiss family by the name of Rodolf, the male members of which were H. L. and J. C. F., settled in the town [Gratiot]. * * * The Rodolfs were a high-bred and well-educated family. H.L. Rodolf, uncle of J. C. F., was a polished gentleman, and had been President of the Swiss Republic previous to emigrating to this country."— Ed.

353 Outside of my books and studies, I was the most ignorant fellow imaginable, and of practical agriculture I had not the slightest idea, never having had an axe, a hoe, or any other implement of the kind in my hands. Of course, I supposed I could soon learn all that would be necessary to make a farmer of me, and made up my mind to do so. But I broke down. My constitution would not permit me to labor in the field, and I was assigned to some of the lighter duties, the principal one of which was to supply the family with game, as that was the only chance we had of getting fresh meat. That occupation was particularly well suited to my taste.

The country was full of game; prairie chickens, partridges, quails, ducks, geese, and deer were abundant. One evening while hunting somewhere below where the village of Darlington, La Fayette County, is now situated, I counted more than fifty deer in a herd,

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but I could not get within shooting distance. Later in the season, when our cabbages in the garden were nearly full grown, they were almost all eaten up one night by a lot of deer which had jumped the fence, within a hundred feet of our dwelling, and regaled themselves at our expense. This was repeated several times.

Still more annoying were the wolves. Every clear summer evening, after sundown, we could hear their whoo-oo-o-oo, in the distance, which would be answered from another direction, and again from another, until the whole horizon seemed to be alive with their howls. Our dogs would answer them, but after we had retired the wolves would venture even on our stoop, and our cowardly dogs, of which we had two, would not dare to attack them, but forsook their post and hid themselves under the house. When the wolves heard us getting up, they would instantly retreat, and I never could get a shot at them. Our neighbor, J. R. Schultz, was awakened early one morning by their howling, and the invasion of his stoop. Jumping out of bed and seizing his rifle, he cautiously opened the door, intending to kill the intruders; but to his surprise he found 24 354 a splendid buck that had jumped over the railing in seeking protection from a large wolf, which was glaring at his intended victim from outside, being unable to climb the fence. Schultz immediately shot the deer, and let the wolf escape.

Another annoyance was the great abundance of snakes, particularly rattlesnakes. I have never before or since, even in Florida or Louisiana, seen anything like it. When out hunting, I became so well acquainted with the sound of their rattle that I lost all fear of them. Whenever a rattler made his presence known to me, I would break off a pliable twig from a bush, and cautiously approach the reptile. As soon as I saw it coiled up, I would swiftly deal it a blow upon the head with my rod, following it up rapidly with a succession of other blows until the snake was killed. I never missed one, and I must have destroyed hundreds.

I became quite a successful hunter, and during the season our table was always liberally supplied with game, so that my contributions to the general stock were quite as valuable

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as what the labor of my brothers and uncle produced; for there was no meat market where our supplies could be got, nearer than Galena, which was forty miles distant, and fresh beef could not be transported that distance in summer. We could only get mess pork at \$40 a barrel, and \$4 for hauling; while game was more palatable, and could be got for the hunting.

Galena, whither we went not to exceed twice a month, was our only market. We were always made welcome at the house of J. P. B. Gratiot, brother of Henry Gratiot, with whose family my mother had ascended from St. Louis. Having now dissolved partnership with his brother, the former had erected, I believe, the first Drummond smelting furnace at Galena, by which the enormous loss and waste of mineral which the old process entailed was very greatly reduced. He now lived at Galena, in a pleasant and comfortable residence, just completed. Sometimes Mrs. Adèle Gratiot, his wife, accompanied by some of her children, would come out to our farm, returning our visit, and spend 355 a week or two with my mother and sisters. She was a lady of superior accomplishments. Born and educated at Paris, she had all the grace, polish of manner, and vivacity of a French lady of distinction; and her kindness and amiability could never be affected by any circumstance, however trying or unpleasant it might be. She was always self-possessed, calm, and dignified, without stiffness, and entirely free from bigotry. Wherever known, she was admired for her superior qualities of head and heart. Her father, René Alphonse de David de Perdreauxville, had been governor of the island of Gaudeloupe under Napoleon; after the emperor fell, he came to the United States in 1815. In 1818 he settled at St. Louis.¹ The following year, his daughter Adèle, then seventeen years of age, was married to J. P. Bugnion Gratiot. She never missed an occasion to manifest her friendship and her interest in our condition, she herself having experienced the hardships of pioneer life on a farm near St. Louis, with her father, prior to her marriage. Her husband was a man of distinguished appearance—straight, tall, of symmetrical build, bright, active and enterprising, and universally popular; he held no public office, preferring the life of a

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private gentleman. Our intimacy continued as long as the family lived at Galena. After their removal to the mines of Missouri, we gradually lost sight of each other.

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 261, 262.— Ed.

Besides hunting and studying, I found, unsolicited, a new occupation. Previous to leaving Switzerland, our family physician prepared for me a medicine chest, containing all the simple drugs and medicines which were most likely to be of value to us during our journey, together with directions in the nature of a dispensary. We found this a valuable contribution to our comfort. In some way this fact became known in our neighborhood and at Hamilton's settlement, and soon I had calls for help in case of sickness from near and far. I gave of my supplies as long as they lasted, never taking a compensation therefor. I was soon known throughout 356 out the country as "Doctor Rodolf," and so called by my friends in Galena and by all the older settlers. I was advised by my friends to set myself up as a physician. There was no law preventing my doing so, and I was assured of quite a fair practice, but I would not do it. I had but too recently arrived from Europe, and lacked the impudence necessary for a successful imposter.

Although the settlers were all simply squatters, belonging, with few exceptions, to the poorer classes of citizens, we never had the least difficulty or trouble with any of our neighbors; but found them willing and ready at all times to assist us with their counsel and advice. Whenever there was a corn husking, or quilting party, or barn raising, we were sure to receive an invitation, and a cordial reception, whenever we could accept the offer. We heard of no violation of law or other outrage, and although rumors reached us of lawlessness at Mineral Point, which became a great mining center, yet Wiota, Hamilton's settlement, and the Peckatonica country enjoyed peace and quiet. Occasionally, bands of thirty or fifty Winnebago Indians would pass our place on their way to see their agent, Col. Henry Gratiot. In view of the remembrance of the outrages so lately committed during the Black Hawk War, we at first felt some trepidation at their visits; but soon got used to their calls, and felt perfectly safe.

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As for churches there were none; neither were the settlements overrun by itinerant preachers. I remember but one instance, in which services were held as the house of a neighbor, Ezra Lamb, about five miles distant, by I think, a Methodist minister.¹ There may have been more, but I am not aware of it. People spent their summer Sundays walking in the woods or over their fields; and in the winter trying to keep warm in the chimney corner.

That fall the United States land office was established at Mineral Point; but the proclamation for a public sale did not

¹ The *History of Iowa County* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1881), p. 761, says that a Methodist itinerant named Simpson was preaching in the neighborhood of Dodgeville as early as 1837.— Ed.

357 include our homestead. The lands situated south of the Wisconsin River and east of the fourth principal meridian were offered in September, 1835. Then I had to go to Mineral Point to enter our farm. I had never been there before. A neighbor of ours, Mr. Reed, who lived about ten miles lower down on the river, and who had his own land to enter, offered to call for me early the next morning, that we might travel in company. We started about sunrise, both on horseback. I had my money packed in my saddlebag. It was a beautiful September day. We followed the ridge road through the timber. The trees had already assumed the variegated hues, which a few light frosts had imparted to them; the wild plum trees and wild grapes lined our path on both sides as if they were set out in a regular park. I never enjoyed a more agreeable ride, until we came within a few miles of Mineral Point. Here the hills were stripped of their trees, and windlasses, mineral holes, piles of dirt, rocks, and mineral greeted our view on all sides. The distance we had travelled was from twenty-eight to thirty miles, and we arrived in time to find the land offices yet open for business, to which we at once repaired and made our business known.

Maj. John P. Sheldon, the register, to whom I brought letters of introduction from Colonels Hamilton and Gratiot, informed me that I would have to bring witnesses to prove up settlement and right to the land, and gave me till the 21st of September to make the proof.

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Of course I was ignorant of any land laws or regulations, or I could have been prepared to meet the demand; and my companion also knew nothing. So after letting our horses rest and taking our dinners, we concluded to return home at once. The money being all in silver, I did not consider Mineral Point a safe place to stop in. Besides the large number of miners, the public land sales brought hundreds of strangers to the place, and the accommodations were scarce and poor. It was nearly five o'clock in the afternoon when we started on our homeward journey.

Major Sheldon told me that we were entitled to several 358 floats. My mother, as a widow, my Uncle Henry, my older brother and myself, having reached eighteen years of age, could claim 160 acres. I did not at that time fully understand the meaning or the value of this privilege. By an act of congress, when two or more parties entitled to pre-emption rights settled upon the same quarter-section, one party might enter that quarter-section, and the others each were entitled to select a quarter-section anywhere else in the same land district which was liable to entry and not claimed by prior rights. These privileges were called "floats," and were considered very valuable, as they could be located anywhere for mill sites or town plats, without the obligation of settling thereon or proving up.

When we had our proofs perfected and ready, I again, accompanied by my brother Frank, repaired to Mineral Point to make our entry. We stopped at the tavern of Mrs. John Hood,¹ who kept a good house for those times. Every tavern was full to overflowing. Speculators and gamblers had congregated in crowds, and during the land sales Mineral Point was anything but a quiet and desirable place to live in. We sold two of our floats, one to Ebenezer Brigham, of Blue Mounds, who located a valuable tract of land near the mound, and for which we got \$10. The other we sold to a speculator, whose name I have forgotten, also for \$10, which, however, he never paid us. As I said, we had no idea of their value; but were told we could readily have got \$50 for each, if we had known how to manage the matter, or had had a friend to consult with. But we were well satisfied, and

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when our business was finished we returned home proud and happy in the thought that we had now again a home of our own.

1 *History of Iowa Co.* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1881), pp. 656, 657, gives an account of the Hoods, who settled at Mineral Point in 1828. Hood, who was a miner, and served in the Black Hawk War as a lieutenant of volunteers, died in 1844.— Ed.

But we did not enjoy that home very long. Our experimental farming did not result in success. That fall the prairie fires were frequent and destructive, and we lost all 359 of our stacks of hay. Thus, in the beginning of a winter, whose severity we had before experienced, we found ourselves without the means to properly care for our stock, having only saved that portion that was stored in our barn and sheds.

I was thoroughly disheartened and disgusted with farming, and was convinced that nature had never intended me for an agriculturist. I made up my mind that I must seek some other occupation better suited to my tastes and capabilities. I wrote to friends in St. Louis and New Orleans; and when spring finally came, I was ready for another exploring expedition. I went to Galena, and some time in April, 1836, descended the river to St. Louis and from there to New Orleans.

I was young and full of hope. My health had greatly improved. Constant exercise in the pure air, hunting, fishing, and horseback riding had made me comparatively strong. I had also improved in the English language, by study and reading, so I could make my way. All this time I had not heard one word of German spoken, and had become well acquainted With the customs and habits of Western people. Of politics I was yet ignorant. Not being of age I could not vote, so that I was not troubled by candidates.

The first allusion made to political parties, in our settlement, was in the fall of 1835, when William S. Hamilton announced himself as a candidate for the legislative council, which was called to meet at Green Bay on January 1, 1836. He called himself a Whig; but was not elected as a representative Whig, but solely on his own popularity, just as

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Gen. George W. Jones,¹ who was an ardent Jacksonian Democrat, was elected by men of all political creeds as delegate to congress from Michigan Territory, of which, at that time, Wisconsin formed a part. Political parties had not as yet gained such power in the Northwest as to determine

¹ For a biographical sketch of George Wallace Jones, see *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.* for 1896, p. 35.— Ed.

360 the result of an election, but the individual popularity of a candidate, his fitness and capability, were the factors in the contest which secured the victory.

During my temporary absence important changes took place in Wisconsin, as well as in my mother's family. The territory was detached from Michigan and erected into the territory of Wisconsin, which embraced within its limits the present states. of Iowa and Minnesota. Henry Dodge, who had, as early as 1826, come to the lead mines, and was engaged in smelting some five miles from Mineral Point, was appointed by President Jackson governor of the new territory, and took the oath of office on the fourth of July, 1836, at Mineral Point, which became at once the chief city of the territory. My mother's family, all except my oldest brother Frederick and my uncle, abandoned the farm and moved to Mineral Point, where my sisters soon got married, and my brothers engaged in various occupations.

I resolved to return to Wisconsin. I bought a stock of groceries at New Orleans, shipped them up to St. Louis, thence to Galena, and had them hauled by team forty miles to Mineral Point; but the venture did not prove a success. The expenses were so great that there was no profit left; yet I was compelled to increase my stock to meet the wants of the country, and continued in the mercantile business till I was satisfied that the occupation of a merchant was either not suited to my taste, or I was not suited to the occupation. I sold out and opened a drug store, which was a pursuit more in accord with my earlier training, offering a field for some mental occupation and study. I now concluded to build my own store and dwelling.

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During my absence in the south, the smelters, miners, and merchants of Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Lancaster, Platteville, and other villages throughout Iowa and Grant counties, became dissatisfied with the treatment they received at the hands of the commission merchants and business men of Galena, to which place they were compelled to cart the product of the mines and furnaces, for shipment down the river. They complained of extortionate charges, 361 and resolved to build a rival city or port somewhere on the Mississippi River, where their business could be transacted for them at less expense. They selected a location called Sinipee, a few miles below Potosi, on the Mississippi River, formed a stock company, laid out a city, sold stock and lots, and induced an enterprising young merchant to build a store and warehouse there, promising him their patronage and the handling of all their lead; they also held out inducements to other parties to settle there, and build houses and stores. The prospect for the success of the enterprise was fair, and some twenty or more buildings were erected during the summer. But below the embryo city was a slough and some swampy land, as is usually the case on Mississippi bottoms; and when fall came, and the river was low, it left all the detritus exposed to the rays of a hot sun, breeding pestilence. All the settlers fell sick. The first victim that paid with his life for his attempt to build up the new city was the young fellow who was to be the principal business man of the settlement. Other deaths followed in rapid succession and a panic ensued. All who could, fled from the place, and it was entirely abandoned; the shares became worthless, and the company was bankrupted.

One of the unfortunate settlers offered me his two-story frame store and dwelling house for \$40. As there was no lumber to be had at Mineral Point, Galena, some forty miles away, was our nearest market, and every stick had to be hauled by team at great expense. The distance to Sinipee was also forty miles, hence the expense of hauling would not be more; so I took a carpenter with me, and rode out to the abandoned city to view the property, and to find out what it would cost to take down the building, haul it to Mineral Point, and put it up again.

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When we finally rode down the ravine to the Mississippi River, and the bankrupted city burst upon our view, a singular sensation took hold of me. The buildings were all new, showing no sign of decay or deterioration by usage or the weather, having stood there but a little over a year. I expected momentarily to see the occupants come out to bid 362 us a welcome. There was, however, not a living being to be seen or heard; neither a dog nor a cat, nor a fox or rat—I think not even a bird gave life to the desolation. The quiet of a churchyard reigned; the houses, all painted white, seemed to loom up as monuments of departed greatness. A few hundred yards farther up, hid in the timber, stood a solitary stone building, outside the corporation limits; it had been occupied by an earlier settler. Some two years ago [about 1887], while ascending the river from St. Louis, I saw that same stone house standing like a sentinel over the spot where fifty years ago a great rival city was to be built, to break down the monopoly of Galena. The attempt was a sad failure; but the natural development of the country has long since accomplished the result sought. The running of the Illinois Central railroad through Galena to Dubuque so severely injured the business interests of the former city that its most enterprising citizens abandoned the place and sought new fields for their activity. Chicago gained what Galena lost.

Satisfied with the building, I made a contract with the builder to have it taken down and put up at Mineral Point, and with a teamster to haul the same. For many years afterwards it was occupied as a store and postoffice, until a few years ago when it was destroyed by fire.

Mineral Point was then the most important town of Wisconsin. It was the county seat of Iowa County, and confidently expected to be the territorial capital. Its population was nearly 2,000 and steadily increasing. There were a dozen lead furnaces constantly in operation in and around the corporation, and some profitable mines were worked, giving employment to a large number of people.

Governor Dodge lived about four miles from town, and operated his furnace, together with his son Augustus C. Dodge, afterwards United States senator from Iowa. There were also

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the smelting establishments of C. F. Legate, Col. Pascal Bequette, Capt. John B. Terry, John F. O'Neill, and numerous others, all of whom made their headquarters at the "Point." It was also the home of the most noted 363 lawyers and professional men of western Wisconsin. The majority of the men engaged in mining were Cornishmen, who had from early childhood been bred to that occupation in the mining districts in England.

The Bank of Mineral Point had been chartered for the avowed purpose of supplying the smelters with the necessary funds to carry on their business, and paper money was current in the mines. But after the failure of that institution, which occurred in 1841, the miners would not take any paper money for their mineral. They insisted on receiving gold or silver, which was furnished by the Galena commission houses. On every return trip from Galena I brought out with me, stowed under the seat of my buggy, one or more thousand dollars in boxes for that purpose.

I became acquainted with S. B. Knapp, the cashier and manager of the bank, and with Porter Brace, the teller, a young gentleman of engaging manners and a pleasant companion. When these officers were arrested, charged with fraudulent practices, I was induced to become a bondsman for Brace. My confidence, however, was sadly misplaced. He fled, but was pursued, overtaken, brought back, and delivered up to the sheriff, and my bond was cancelled. I was not acquainted with the condition of the bank, and supposed the embarrassment to be only temporary; an investigation proved it to be a thoroughly rotten institution.

William H. Banks, a young lawyer of Mineral Point, who bore a high character for integrity, and who was universally respected, was appointed one of the receivers of the bank, and went to St. Louis to negotiate some of the assets belonging to the broken concern, but he never returned nor was he ever heard of again. His disappearance has remained a mystery. All inquiries and searches after him proved fruitless. Although in the minds of many, grave suspicions against his integrity arose, yet his reputation and character for integrity was so well established that most of the people accounted for his disappearance

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as the result of murder, or some accident which caused his death. From that time, however, the people of the mines, and particularly 364 the miners, were strenuously opposed to paper money of any kind, although among the merchants of Illinois and Michigan paper money was still circulated; but not one pound of mineral could be bought with it.

Henry and Nathan Corwith, of Galena, were the principal parties who supplied the smelters with necessary funds. When they discovered that paper money could no longer be used, they bought, in New York, a large amount of English sovereigns at probably \$4.80 to \$4.83, and paid them out to the smelters at the uniform rate of \$4.90. The majority of the miners being from England, knew the value of the coin, and never murmured at the rate, or refused to sell their mineral for the gold. It was safe money, quite unlike the notes of the wildcat banks which were liable at any moment to prove bits of worthless paper. For years they were gladly taken at that value; and in many a cabin you could find an old stocking filled with the precious metal which would not depreciate. The Corwiths realized a handsome profit on their investment.

The only attempt of which I have any recollection, to introduce paper money again, was made by Cadwallader C. Washburne, with the bills of the Hallowell Bank, of Maine, a few years later; but it was useless—the miners utterly refused to take them. The miners used to say they sold metal, and they wanted metal in exchange for it.

As I have already said, Mineral Point was at that time the home of the most prominent men of western Wisconsin, particularly in the profession of law. The numerous quarrels about mines, the jumping of claims, the encroachments of the diggers upon each other, caused endless litigation, presenting a fruitful field for the exercise of the talents of the lawyer. Moses M. Strong, attorney of the territory, afterwards member of the territorial council and speaker of the State assembly, had a fine residence here. Francis J. Dunn, secretary of the territory, and head of the law firm of Dunn, Jones & Crawford, was my next-door neighbor. He was generous-hearted, impulsive, very active, and a great worker. William R.

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Smith was probably the best-educated 365 member of the bar. He was a ripe scholar, a great historian, familiar not only with English, but also French literature, and an admirer of the works of Goethe and Schiller. He was an interesting conversationalist, liberal-minded, and pleasant. M. M. Cothren, afterwards for many years circuit judge of the Fifth judicial circuit, which office he filled with signal credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the people, was then a young lawyer, giving indications of a clear and judicial mind. Parley Eaton was also a successful advocate. Mortimer M. Jackson, a brother-in-law of C. C. Washburne, was an eloquent pleader before the court, and a highly polished gentleman. In 1841, C. C. Washburne and Cyrus Woodman settled at Mineral Point and opened a law, land, and collection office, devoting the most of their time to land business, collections, and paying taxes, in which they succeeded in amassing ample fortunes. Captain Henry was the postmaster, and Maj. John P. Sheldon register of the United States land office.

During the presidential campaign of 1840, politics became bitter, and the parties were sharply divided into Democrats and Whigs; although Wisconsin, being only a territory, had no voice in the election. Major Sheldon was a strong Democrat, and had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Whigs by several newspaper articles. He was removed in the fall of 1840, by President Van Buren, on charges brought by his political enemies, of having permitted his friends to enter lands containing mineral, which lands were withheld from sale by the United States.

Before being permitted to enter land, the purchaser had to make oath that it did not to his knowledge contain any mineral and had to bring witnesses to that effect. Of course the temptation was great to defraud the United States, and such an oath was looked upon by many as a mere formality. I was told of instances where men were blindfolded, led across the land which was sought to be entered, and then swore that they had not seen any mineral thereon.

The Major's friends, and the people of Mineral Point generally, were greatly excited at his removal, and an indignation 366 meeting was called at the court house. Resolutions were

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adopted, regretting the action of the president, eulogizing the conduct of Major Sheldon, and assuring him of the entire confidence of the people in his integrity and honor. This incident intensified the bitterness of feeling, and the press of both parties took up the quarrel. *The Miners' Free Press*, published by Messrs. Welsh & Plowman at Mineral Point, was a strong Democratic paper, and it zealously defended the course of Major Sheldon. Gen. Charles Bracken, who lived about five or six miles south of Mineral Point, and who had been in the Black Hawk War, was an extremely bitter Whig partisan, and the reported correspondent of a Whig paper issued at Madison; he strongly denounced the Major. Henry B. Welsh, the senior editor of the *Miners' Free Press*, was a devoted personal friend of the ex-register, and one evening while coming home from a visit to his friend he accidentally met General Bracken about a mile from town, going out to his farm. They were both on horseback, and on passing each other, the road being narrow, an altercation took place between them. Blows were exchanged, and Welsh was reported to have pulled his antagonist from his horse.

Next morning, Bracken rode into town, armed with one of the large horse-pistols that the dragoons used to carry during the Black Hawk War. Seeing Welsh in the part of town called "Shake Rag," he advanced immediately upon him, with his pistol aimed. Welsh was unarmed, but he cried out, "Somebody hand me a pistol!" Col. Abner Nichols, the landlord of a tavern on the next corner, happened to be on the street, and hearing the appeal, quickly went into his barroom and brought out a pistol; but before he had time to deliver it to Welsh, Bracken had shot his enemy. The ball struck his collar, and glancing around it, entered the back of his neck, below the left ear. It made an ugly but not fatal wound. Welsh wore, as was at that time the custom in the mines, a collar or cravat, known as a "stock," being a wire frame covered with silk or satin. and fastened behind by a buckle. This collar saved his life. 367 He was carried to his boarding house, he being at the time an unmarried man, and medical aid summoned; after a few weeks he was at his post again. After the shooting, Bracken coolly rode out of town, nobody attempting to hold or arrest him. His brother John, who was then deputy marshal, soon after followed him

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to his home, arrested him and brought him to town, and he was placed under bond and released. The excitement soon subsided, as Welsh was declared out of danger. My best recollection is that, before court met, Welsh was completely restored and the matter was allowed to drop.

That same fall occurred the first public execution that I had ever witnessed in Wisconsin. A poor fellow, named William Caffee, had, while under the influence of liquor, about two years before stabbed and killed a man at a ball given at Berry's Grove.¹ He fled, but was finally caught at St. Louis, and brought back to Mineral Point, where he had his trial. He was convicted of murder, and Judge Charles Dunn sentenced him to be hanged. When the fatal day arrived, the crowd of morbid sight-seers that poured into the village was something wonderful. They began to arrive before daylight, and from as far as forty miles; they came by wagon loads, on horseback, and on foot, in a continuous stream. Old men and young women and children and babies were there; whole settlements were for a day abandoned; many brought their provisions with them, and camped upon the hill sides. Considering the sparsity of the population, the gathering was larger than any circus nowadays can bring together. The stores and shops of all kinds did that day a very large and profitable business. The day was long remembered and talked about as "hanging day." The eagerness and morbidity with which people will witness the suffering and agony of a poor wretch is not calculated to elevate public morals. We can be truly thankful that not only the barbarous custom of public execution,

¹ *Hist. Iowa Co.*, pp. 673, 674, gives the victim's name as Southwick, who was at the time managing a "house warming" for one Berry, a settler at White Oak Springs, La Fayette County.— Ed.

368 but also the death penalty itself, has been abolished in Wisconsin.

At the first session of the territorial legislature, which was held in a barn temporarily fitted up for the purpose at Belmont, about twelve miles southwest of Mineral Point, the question of a permanent location of the capital was agitated. After a long and acrimonious contest,

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and against the most strenuous efforts of the friends of Mineral Point, Madison, on the four lakes, a town which had just been laid out by James D. Dory, was selected as the future seat of government. It was, at the time, freely and openly charged that the vote for Madison was secured by the gift of Madison town lots; and those members of the legislature from Iowa County who voted for Madison could never thereafter recover any political standing or influence in that region.

James D. Doty was a resident of Green Bay, a lawyer of fair ability, and possessed of great suavity of manner and a pleasing address. He was very popular in the eastern part of Wisconsin, but correspondingly unpopular in the mining regions, where he was looked upon as a selfish, scheming speculator. After Madison had been selected for the seat of government, Doty was elected one of the commissioners to build the capitol. He was an ardent Whig. The term of Gen. George W. Jones, as delegate to congress from Wisconsin, had expired. He was renominated by the Democrats, but the unfortunate Cilley-Graves duel, in which he had participated as Cilley's second, lost him the vote of the eastern counties. Thomas P. Burnet, a very popular lawyer of Grant County, ran against him in the western counties, and the result was the election of Dory as delegate to congress, and General Jones was appointed surveyor general. But the latter did not enjoy his office long, for immediately after the death of President Harrison and the inauguration of President Tyler, the territorial officers were all removed. Doty was appointed as Governor Dodge's successor.

Dodge's appearance presented a marked contrast to Doty's. The former dressed very plainly, and put on no airs. He was affable to everyone, yet reserved and dignified; tall and erect in his carriage; decided and outspoken, and most scrupulously honest; he made no rash promises, but whatever he promised he fulfilled. He had the confidence of the people of all political parties, in a larger measure than any public man I have ever known in Wisconsin. After his removal by President Harrison, he was unanimously nominated by the Democratic convention for delegate to congress, and was elected over Jonathan E. Arnold, who was an eloquent and fluent speaker. With Governor Dodge and his son,

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Augustus C., I became intimately acquainted, owing to intermarriage of the families, and learned to respect and admire their sterling qualities.

George W. Jones's residence was on Sinsinawa Mound. If I recollect aright, his was the first entry made at the land office at Mineral Point in 1835. Sinsinawa Mound is situated in the southwestern corner of Grant County. It is one of those high elevations like Belmont, Platte Mound, and Blue Mound, that loom up like islands in the great sea of prairies of western Wisconsin, and present some of the rarest and most graceful views of all the mining country. After his removal from the office of surveyor general, Jones was appointed clerk of the court of Iowa County, and removed with his family to Mineral Point. He was my next-door neighbor and friend until after the election and inauguration of President Polk, who reappointed him surveyor general, and located the office at Dubuque, to which place the General then removed. When Iowa was admitted as a state, he and A. C. Dodge were chosen the first senators to represent that young state. General Jones was too closely connected with the history of the Northwest to need any mention from me. He was an earnest worker for the interests of his constituents, and owing to his popularity in congress was generally successful in his efforts.

Francis J. Dunn, the brother of Chief Justice Charles Dunn, was also my neighbor for many years. He was an active, talented lawyer, and had an extensive clientage. He associated with him David W. Jones, his brother-in-law, 25 370 and later the Hon. Samuel Crawford, afterwards one of the associate justices of the supreme court, forming the firm of Dunn, Jones & Crawford. They were probably the best known and most important law firm of the mining region, and did the largest business.

Moses M. Strong devoted most of his time to politics. He was a member of the territorial council, the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability, and was speaker of the Wisconsin assembly in 1850.

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Mortimer M. Jackson was also a distinguished member of the Iowa County bar—a pleasant, polished gentleman. He married a sister of the wife of C. C. Washburne, and being a Whig was appointed attorney general of the territory in place of M. M. Strong, removed.

Col. Daniel M. Parkinson, a participant in the Black Hawk War, lived on his farm, about five miles south of Mineral Point. He was a warm friend and supporter of Dodge, while his neighbor, Charles Bracken, also one of the heroes of the same war, was a political opponent of the governor. These two gentlemen became so estranged by political differences, that although nearest neighbors they would not join division fences, as was customary, but each built his fence on his own ground. They absolutely ignored each other, never speaking together, yet never coming in collision. They are both dead now, and I have been told that prior to their death they met, shook hands, forgave each other, and died reconciled.

Edward Bouchard, a Canadian Frenchman, engaged in mining; John Messersmith, Jr., living a few miles beyond Dodgeville; and Thomas Jenkins, of Dodgeville, who was wounded in the Black Hawk War, were frequent guests at my place, rehearsing stories of their experiences.

Col. Pascal Bequette, a smelter at Diamond Grove, about six miles west of Mineral Point, a son-in-law of Governor Dodge, and one of his lieutenants in the Black Hawk uprising, was receiver of the United States land office at Mineral Point, being removed by President Tyler. Levi Sterling, a very pleasant gentleman, was appointed his successor.

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At the instigation of Governor Doty, the land office was removed from Mineral Point to Muscoda, at that time a sandy, barren bottom on the Wisconsin River, about forty miles north. Doty had purchased the land and laid out a town at that place, but there were not to exceed a dozen shanties erected there when I visited it. The speculation was a failure, and

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even the present village of Muscoda is at least half a mile from the spot where the original settlement had been attempted. After the election of James K. Polk, the land office was re-established at Mineral Point, and Bequette reappointed its receiver. He was a gentleman of unimpeachable integrity and honor, enjoying the confidence and respect of all who knew him; for he was a modest, quiet gentleman, and an enterprising business man.

When the California gold fever broke out, he was one of the first of our Iowa County emigrants who undertook the perilous overland journey with his family. My brother Frank, who had married his sister, followed him to the land of promise. Bequette died in San Francisco.

Another prominent citizen of Mineral Point was Gen. William R. Smith, afterward attorney general under the Barstow administration. The general was probably the best educated and most learned man of this part of the country at that time. His library, aside from law books, was well supplied with the standard works of the most distinguished authors. In 1841, I think it was, he was prosecuting attorney of Iowa County when the legislature was paid in "scrip." This scrip was a poor imitation of a bank note, printed on coarse, common paper, quite easy to counterfeit.

In the fall of 1841 I started, in company with my brother Frank, on a business visit to New York. In Chicago we were joined by a friend of mine, Theodore Baillie Blanchard, of New Orleans, who had just returned from a visit to Paris, and was traveling for pleasure before going home to work. The means of traveling had by this time so much improved, that instead of the jolting, hard-seated, two-horse wagon, we had a regular Frink & Walker daily stage line, with comfortable coaches. It was as much of an improvement 372 over the old wagon, as afterward the railroads proved to be over the stages.

To go to New York we had first to travel to Galena, forty miles. From there the stage would take us to Chicago. The coaches had three inside seats, calculated to hold three passengers each. The back seats were the most comfortable, as you had something to

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lean against—the others were seats of torture during a long journey. The stages did not stop at night, but drove right along. When morning came, the passengers, if they had been able to sleep at all, would wake up stiff, chilled through, and tired; and after an indifferent breakfast would have to endure another day and night of torture. My recollection is it took us three days and two nights to reach Chicago. After passing Elgin, we struck what was then called the Illinois bottom, where the mud was two feet deep during rainy weather, and almost impassable during spring, when the stages frequently got mired and passengers were called upon to help pry them out of the mud. Fortunately, the present being a dry season, we had the good luck to reach Chicago without any very serious annoyance.

I cannot remember the name of the hotel at which we stopped. It was a modest brick building near the lake, but I have been unable to find its location at any of my numerous subsequent visits to Chicago. The city at that time was composed mostly of wooden buildings, and large plank sidewalks made locomotion easy and possible, notwithstanding the soft soil. The streets were full of life and bustle, and the inhabitants were predicting a great future.

George Smith, a friend and compatriot of Alexander Mitchell, of Milwaukee, was at that time the principal banker. Having exchanged with him our Western currency for Eastern funds, we engaged passage on one of the large packet steamers which were making regular trips down the lakes to Buffalo. I have forgotten the name of the steamer and its gentlemanly captain; but a more delightful trip I never took. We were favored by splendid weather. When we arrived opposite Milwaukee the captain invited us into his boat to go with him and visit the city. There being no harbor, the steamer had to remain outside the bar, and we got a good drenching while crossing the line of surf. We went to the Milwaukee House, situated on Wisconsin street, near where the Northwestern Life Insurance Company's building now stands. It was a frame structure. We had a couple of hours to view the city. It struck me as a much prettier place than Chicago, and quite as large. I do not remember seeing any brick buildings, and do not think there were any at that early time; but the location was handsome, and there were manifest promises

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of future growth. Upon our return on board the steamer, we continued our voyage, stopping at every town on the Wisconsin side, and not once on the Michigan side, until we reached Mackinac, where the captain gave us nearly a whole day to visit the fort and neighborhood, of which privilege we availed ourselves by climbing the heights and seeing everything that was of interest. After leaving Mackinac, we steamed down Lake Huron, through Lake St. Clair, to Detroit, down the river into Lake Erie, and landed safely at Buffalo. After a short stay to view the city, which was larger than Chicago, we visited Niagara Falls, where we saw and enjoyed all the beauties of that wonderful exhibition of the power of nature. Then we took a steamer and crossed Lake Ontario to Oswego. There we engaged passage on a canal boat, to a point where we struck the New York Central railroad.

Travel on canal boats is now a thing of the past; but in 1841 it was certainly far more pleasant and agreeable than the agony of stage-coach riding.¹ The boats fitted up for passenger traffic had good accommodations and set a good table; and you were not exposed to the whims of cross, coarse, and unmannerly drivers.

1 Cf. Mrs. Baird's account of her trip on the Erie Canal, in 1836, *ante*, pp. 248–251.— Ed.

Our boat was full of passengers. At night we were hung up in hammocks, which were strung along the sides of the boat, three or four in a tier, and although they were awkward 374 to get into or out of, one could stretch himself and sleep comfortably. Then there was the novelty of the thing, which was in itself an enjoyment. The scenery was frequently splendid, and during the trip I witnessed the most sublime display of the northern lights I have ever seen before or since. After we struck the New York Central railroad we left the boat, and reached Albany in due time without any accident, although we descended to the city on an inclined plane. At Albany we took a steamer on the Hudson River, and next day we landed safely in New York. The trip from Wisconsin took us thirteen days, which was considered an unusually quick voyage.

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While in New York we presented our letter of introduction to the widow of Alexander Hamilton, and mother of William S. Hamilton, our neighbor out in Wisconsin, who had given us a note to her. Mrs. Hamilton, while on a visit to her son out in Wisconsin, a few years previous, had been a guest of my mother's and we were most graciously received and spent a pleasant evening at her house. Her conversation was charming and instructive, and, notwithstanding her great age, she looked the picture of health.

Having completed our business, we started on our homeward journey by way of Philadelphia, and thence to Chambersburg, at the foot of the Alleghany mountains. Thus far we came by railroad, but now we had to take the stage-coach again. We started out of Chambersburg at nightfall, and reached the summit in the morning, where there was a tavern called the "Summit house."¹ Here a halt was made, and we were told we could have our breakfast. The stage, happily, was not crowded; but having been jolted all night and somewhat chilled, we were anxious for a good breakfast. We had hardly sat down to the table, when the driver blew his horn, and called all aboard. He would not wait for us, but started ahead, and we were obliged to run after him. We succeeded in stopping him, and

¹ Still maintained as a house of refreshment, on the "Cumberland pike," above Uniontown, Pa.— Ed.

375 he let us aboard again. We came very near having a regular fight with the rascally driver, but we thought discretion was the better part of valor, as we were altogether in his power, and the descent from the mountain might give him a chance for revenge. It was the opinion of our fellow travelers that his action was in concert with the landlord, who got pay for his breakfast, which we could not eat, and which was good for the next arrivals.

During conversation, I found that one of our fellow travelers was Amos Kendall, ex-postmaster general under President Jackson; the other was a gentleman from New Orleans.

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Our road led through a handsome country of well cultivated farms, all surrounded by fine orchards; the trees were loaded down with fruit, reminding me of the orchards of Germany and France. I believe the region was settled by what were called "Pennsylvania Dutch." The views were fine, the road was in excellent condition, and we traveled with great speed. Towards evening we began our descent, but the driver did not check his speed. Although the scenery became more picturesque, the recklessness of our driver kept us in a fever. Many a time we were on the brink of a precipice, into which the least obstruction in the road would have thrown us. But we reached Uniontown in safety, where a steamer was ready to take us to Pittsburg, at which place we arrived at nightfall, and stopped at the Monongahela hotel.

After having seen all that was worth seeing in that city of smoke and coal dust, we took passage on a steamer down the Ohio River to Cairo, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. Our chapter of accidents was not yet exhausted. The Ohio was at a low stage of water, and we had proceeded but a few hundred yards when we ran aground. Travelers on the Upper Mississippi River are familiar with these detentions. We got off after some hard labor; but experiencing a repetition of our accident every few minutes, it became evident that further progress by water was unadvisable. When we came in sight of Wheeling, the captain offered to refund our passage money; and hailing a lumber raft that 376 happened to be passing by, he shipped all his passengers—men, women and children, over fifty in number—on the raft, and we were landed safely at Wheeling. Quite a number were from St. Louis, homeward bound, with some of whom I was acquainted. We succeeded in hiring several coaches to take us to Cincinnati, where we expected to find the Ohio high enough for safe navigation. We traveled day and night, and arrived at Cincinnati without any serious accident, except that one of our coaches broke down one night, and we had to walk about a mile and a half to the next village, where the injury was repaired. As we had anticipated, we found no difficulty in proceeding by steamer from Cincinnati. We glided down to Cairo, and then steamed up the Mississippi to St. Louis. After visiting there among

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friends for a few days, we took a Galena steamer, arrived at the mines in due time, and getting on the stage reached home after an absence of over two months.

After having traveled many hundreds of miles by stage, we came very near having the most serious accident within about half a mile from Mineral Point. It was late in the evening and very dark. Our stage, going at a rapid rate, struck a stump in O'Neill's grove and upset. There were nine persons inside, and two up with the driver, making eleven passengers. Nobody was seriously hurt. A young lady passenger fainted, but was soon returned to consciousness, and brought safely home.

In January of the next winter, when the ground was covered with snow to an average depth of from two to three feet, and the thermometer was down to 40 below, I started in a sleigh with H. S. Dodge, who was running the governor's furnace near Dodgeville, on an overland trip to Milwaukee. It was a long and tedious journey. The first day we drove fifty-three miles to Madison, then quite a small village, where the legislature was in session. I had chance to see the shell of the \$140,000 capital building. The next day we reached Janesville, on Rock River, which was a growing and enterprising village. The next 377 night we passed at Major Meecham's, an old friend of Governor Dodge. The fifth day we reached Milwaukee, after having passed Prairieville (now Waukesha), and tasted the sweet comforts of traveling over the corduroy roads through the so-called "Milwaukee woods."

The principal object of our trip was to establish business relations at Milwaukee, by which we might be enabled to send the products of the lead mines to Milwaukee, thence to be shipped to the eastern markets by way of the lakes, and so create a competing port with Galena. Our arrangements were made with Messrs. Joe and Linsey Ward, gentlemen of means and enterprise, to whom the lead was consigned. But the undertaking did not prove a financial success, and was not kept up long. The transportation of the lead by "prairie schooners," as the ox teams were called, while in the lead mines they went by the name of "sucker teams," was too expensive.¹

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¹ See Libby's "Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade in Early Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 293–334.— Ed.

During this visit to Milwaukee, I became acquainted with most of the prominent business men of that city; particularly with Josiah A. Noonan, with whom I continued on intimate terms until his death. Mr. Noonan was a man of remarkable energy, and acquainted with the public and private history of every prominent man of Wisconsin. He was a true and honest friend of his friends, but a good hater of his enemies. Linsey Ward was a Democrat, but Joe Ward was a pronounced Whig and a friend of Governor Doty; and although he shortly afterward married Mrs. Kingberry, a daughter of Governor Dodge, he remained loyal to his friend, and was one of his trusted counsellors, so that in the mines he was known as "Doty's left bower." I also got acquainted with Solomon Juneau, Fred Warner, Daniel Wells, Jr., Hans Crocker, and many prominent men who afterward gained great distinction in business and politics.

The summer following, I began the erection of a brick store and dwelling house at Mineral Point, which was, I think, the first solid brick building put up there. Most of 378 the buildings were stone, that material being plenty and comparatively cheap; although a goodly number of frame buildings had been erected, the difficulty of getting a supply of lumber, and the high prices charged, induced the people to use the stone which the neighboring hills provided. All the lumber used in my building was bought in Galena of M. M. Maughs, and had to be transported by teams to Mineral Point. I mention this circumstance, only because, during the spring of 1854, while I was traveling down the Lemonweir valley, I found my old acquaintance, Mr. Maughs, established at a place called Maughstown — now Mauston — where he had started a village and erected a saw mill.¹ Such unexpected meetings of old acquaintances were incidents of pioneer life.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 385, 386; also *History of Northern Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1881), pp. 368, 369.— Ed.

The term of Governor Dodge as delegate to congress having expired, he was unanimously renominated by the Democratic convention at Madison, and Gen. I. W. Hickox was nominated by the Whigs. The canvass was exciting and bitter, and there were more speeches made by the respective friends of the candidates than during any previous campaign. But Dodge was re-elected, many of his Whig friends voting for him. None of the candidates made speeches, as it was not in those days considered dignified on their part to go about the country addressing meetings in their own behalf, and requesting votes; that was thought to be the duty and business of friends who desired their election.

During all this time, Governor Doty and the legislature were in constant hostility. One of the governor's vagaries had to be settled by a joint resolution. The governor had a fondness for spelling the name of the territory as "Wiskonsan." The legislature, in order to avoid future embarrassments and misunderstandings, found itself obliged to declare by a joint resolution that the spelling used in the organic act should be maintained.

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During Doty's incumbency occurred the killing of Charles C. P. Arndt in the council chamber at Madison, by James R. Vineyard, of Grant County. I had known Vineyard, and when he was brought to Mineral Point as a prisoner, I, with a large number of his friends, visited him and procured for him the required bail. Vineyard claimed that he acted in self-defense, and his friends and neighbors all declared him to be a peaceable, kind-hearted man. To me he expressed his sorrow for his rashness, but insisted on his right of self-defense. On his subsequent trial he was acquitted. John H. Rountree, a highly respected citizen of Grant County, political opponent of Vineyard, but for upwards of fifteen years a neighbor and friend of the prisoner, and an eyewitness of the killing, gave testimony in common with other members of the council who were present, which convinced the jury that the shooting was really done in self-defense.¹

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1 Cf. *ante*, pp. 255, 256; numerous reports of this affair in previous volumes of the *Collections*; and article by E. W. Keyes in *Milwaukee Sentinel* for Aug. 27, 1899.

New discoveries of lead mines were constantly made throughout the mining regions, principally at Blue River and Franklin, where my brother, Charles G. Rodolf, and Henry M. Billings, worked valuable leads. The country was settling rapidly with miners, principally Cornishmen, who were experienced workers in lead mines.²

2 See Louis Albert Copeland's "The Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 301–334.— Ed.

The social relations of the people of Mineral Point were about the same as prevailed in those early days in all new settlements. Although the population was mixed, not much race prejudice was perceptible, except that the Cornish people, who formed the majority of the foreign population, adhered more strictly to some of their peculiar customs. Of course intellectual and financial differences will always and everywhere bring about separate social groupings. Mineral Point could not be expected to be altogether free from this universal law; but the young people had their enjoyments, their parties and their balls, to which every one whose conduct was correct was invited, and the neighbors within a radius of twenty miles or more would gladly accept invitations and hardly ever fail to respond.

There were public and private schools. There was a creditable Presbyterian church building, and a respectable congregation. The Methodists had two churches—one a Methodist Episcopal, and the other a Primitive Methodist. Almost all the Cornishmen were Methodists. The Episcopalians purchased the old Mineral Point Bank building, and converted it into a church, and the Roman Catholics also built a tasteful edifice. My mother and sisters having for many years been deprived of the benefit of attending church, were anxiously seeking for a congregation teaching the creed in which they were educated, but in vain. Our family having been, ever since the sixteenth century, members

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of the Swiss Reformed denomination, concluded that the Episcopal church more nearly represented their religious views than any other of the various sects, hence they joined the Episcopalian congregation, which, though small in number, was deemed eminently respectable. As for myself and my brothers, the almost endless division of beliefs and creeds by which for a time we were assailed by their votaries, bewildered us, and I might almost say disgusted us; so that none of us, as far as I can recollect, joined any particular church, but adhered to the belief of our fathers, and were satisfied to live honorable, upright lives.

An accession to our social circle was made by the arrival of two young ladies, whom my brother-in-law, John Milton, brought out with him from Boston, about this time. One was Miss Sweet, his niece, who was afterward married to Samuel Crawford, associate justice of the supreme court, now the wife of J. M. Smith, a well-known lawyer of Mineral Point. The other was Miss Washburne, a sister of C. C. Washburne, who became the wife of Charles L. Stephenson, then a merchant of Mineral Point, and receiver of the United States land office under President Fillmore's administration.

Dr. John H. Vivian, of England, a highly-educated and 381 agreeable gentleman, also made his home at Mineral Point. Dr. Vivian was for years an active and valuable member of the State Board of Charities and Reform; he is a very influential citizen of Iowa County, and occupies the house and store which I built in 1842, having purchased my drug business and property at the time of my removal to La Crosse in 1853.

The election of President James K. Polk was celebrated at Mineral Point by a great procession, speeches, and festivities. George W. Jones marshalled the whole proceedings. Soon after the inauguration of the president, Jones was reappointed surveyor general, and left Mineral Point for Dubuque, where the office was located.

William Pitt Lynde, of Milwaukee, was now appointed attorney general; Gov. Nathaniel P. Tallmadge was removed, and General Dodge restored to the governorship of the territory.

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He received a great ovation at the hands of the people of the mining country. He was escorted from his residence, about four miles north of Mineral Point, by the Mineral Point Dragoons, under the command of Capt. J. F. O'Neil, to the court house, where he was welcomed, and briefly responded. A dinner was served at the Mansion House, toasts were offered and responded to, and the festivity closed by a grand ball in the evening. The governor always enjoyed the warm friendship and esteem of his neighbors, Whigs as well as Democrats.

Timothy Burns, then living in the southern part of Iowa County—now Lafayette County—was elected sheriff, and moved with his family to Mineral Point, and as sheriff occupied the courthouse right across the street from my house, and was my near neighbor as long as he lived at Mineral Point. He was an efficient and popular officer, and after his term of office had expired, represented Iowa County in the legislature, until the state government was formed. He was virtually the founder of La Crosse, where he died in the fall of 1853, in the full vigor of his manhood, with great political prospects before him. He was a great reader, shrewd politician, and essentially what is called a self-made man.

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After many fruitless attempts to bring the mineral lands into market, and to permit their purchase, F. J. Dunn, after a personal visit to Washington, finally succeeded in convincing the government that the best interests of the country demanded that the settlers should be permitted to enter the lands; that by so doing the constant quarrels, fights, and shootings would be put at an end. Many families had been living on their claims from ten to twenty years, built houses, cultivated farms, and had no titles to their homes. The lands were now offered at public sale at the land office at Mineral Point, and in order to protect themselves against speculators and land sharks, the settlers formed an association and elected committees before whom every claimant was required to make proof of settlement and right to the land claimed. Men were also chosen to bid in all the lands in certain neighborhoods, for the purpose of afterwards conveying the same to the proper party. The sale took place, and no disturbance occurred. A few speculators appeared, but when

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they understood how matters were arranged, they wisely abstained from bidding against any settler, except in one solitary instance, in which a stranger made a bid; but he was immediately seized, lifted over the heads of the bystanders, put out into the street, and told not to show his head again. He left town immediately. After the sale, little was heard about jumping claims, or fighting for diggings. The mining country became as quiet and orderly as any other community, not counting an occasional shooting or stabbing affray, resulting from a drunken row, or a fight for a mine or prospect.

I remember but two cases of premeditated murder for money, during my residence in the mines. One was the killing of an old German shoemaker, who lived alone in a shanty in the outskirts of the village, and was supposed to have saved a large sum of money. One morning he was found lying murdered on the floor of his room. The other victim was an old Cornish miner, named Phil Cox, also a bachelor, living alone in a well-settled part of the town. Cox was a queer character, but a harmless man, and reported 383 as being possessed of quite a large amount of money hidden away in his house. While sitting in front of his fire-place, he was struck from behind with an ax. The body fell into the fire, which partly consumed it. Neither of these murderers was ever discovered or brought to punishment.

Some funny cases were occasionally brought up before the justices of the peace, who were not always the proper persons to administer the law. One curious decision, however, created a good deal of merriment at the time. A farmer living a few miles out of town discovered one morning that somebody had been robbing his oat stacks during the night, hauling the grain off in a wagon. He traced the wagon into town, to the house of the thief, and immediately lodged a complaint with the justice of the peace, who had the man arrested. The justice was an honest old miner, named, I think, Nikey Uren, who as soon as the culprit appeared before him, and without giving him time to plead or make any explanation, said to him: "Carter (that was the name of the accused), you stole the oats, and my judgment is that you immediately return the oats to the place whence you took them, and pay a fine of \$5." The thief uttered no protest, but paid his fine and immediately

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returned the oats. The thief was ever afterwards known as "Sheaf Oats Carter," and shortly after left the country. The justice saved him lawyer's fees and trouble, and saved great costs to the county, by this summary, though informal, proceeding, which might in many cases be profitably imitated.

During all this time Mineral Point, though it had lost the cherished location as state capital, was steadily growing in population and importance. Milwaukee, on the other hand, was advancing with marvelous rapidity, foreshadowing its future greatness. It had already become the commercial metropolis of Wisconsin, and was rapidly accumulating wealth. Eastern people flocked to it, and Eastern capital was freely invested, while the prosperity of the mining country, which depended greatly on its luck in striking new leads, was spasmodic.

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Messrs. C. C. Washburne and Cyrus Woodman were building up an important and profitable business, and became known as gentlemen of great business capacity and unimpeachable integrity. Washburne built himself a comfortable, elegant home, and brought his bride to the city. She was a sister-in-law of Mortimer M. Jackson, and a lady of accomplishments and amiable disposition. Washburne was a strongly-pronounced Whig, while Woodman was a moderate Democrat, voting in local elections for whom he thought the best-fitted candidate. He never offered himself as a candidate for any office, while Washburne was once defeated for justice of the peace by an old one-eyed miner named Eben Polk. Washburne, though highly esteemed, was not personally popular with the miners and common people. Woodman was a lover of the fine arts and literature, and he and I had many friendly discussions over the respective merits of the works of authors of various nationalities, which he regretted being unable to enjoy in their original language, having to be satisfied with translations. We together read the voyage and discovery of the Mississippi by Father Marquette, in French, and became quite intimate with that portion of our history.

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The question of petitioning congress to admit Wisconsin to statehood was now strongly advocated; a constitutional convention was called, a constitution framed, submitted to a vote of the people, and voted down. The country for some years past had been flooded with a paper currency called "shinplasters," "wild cats," and "yellow dogs," which were based on "cheek," and had no capital to back them. They were liable at any moment to be worthless. You might go to sleep with \$1000 in your possession, and wake up in the morning and find your bank bills worthless. Although the miners would not touch a dollar of this currency, yet it was the circulating medium in every other line of business. The people of western Wisconsin insisted on setting into the constitution an article not only prohibiting in-state banks from issuing paper money, but prohibiting and excluding the circulation of any paper money whatever in 385 the state, recognizing only gold and silver as legal tender. The people on the lake shore and in all eastern counties, being mostly trading communities, were largely in favor of a paper currency. The result was the rejection of the state constitution, and the calling of another convention which recognized banks and paper money. That constitution was adopted, and in 1848 Wisconsin became a sovereign state.

I must refer to an occurrence previous to these events, which might have resulted in serious complications to the parties concerned. As I have already stated, the law firm of Dunn, Jones & Crawford were doing a large business for the mining community. Among their patrons was Dennis Murphy, of Lafayette County, who possessed valuable lead interests, and had for years been a client of the firm. He claimed that his lawyers were engaged by him by the year. A misunderstanding occurred between them, and one day while Samuel Crawford was in the village, Murphy assaulted him with a cowhide, claiming the firm had betrayed his interests. Crawford was unarmed, and had to retreat.

The report of the fracas reached Mineral Point before Crawford returned, but the next day, when he went to his law office, Francis J. Dunn forbade him to enter, saying that no man who had been assaulted as Crawford had been without taking revenge on his assailants could ever associate with him. There was in the office at that time a young

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law student named John Delany, a friend of Crawford, who offered to take the latter to Benton, Lafayette County, and give him a chance to wipe out this indignity. Next morning they started early on their errand, and reached Murphy's place near sundown. Crawford had a loaded gun with him in his buggy. As they entered the village, Murphy stood in the door of his home. As soon as he discovered the buggy approaching, he turned to enter the house. Delany said, "Now is your time—quick!" Crawford seized the gun, discharged it into his retreating foe, and drove immediately out of the village. Murphy was hit in the thigh, was carried into the house, and medical aid quickly summoned. Crawford drove on to Galena, where he had a 26 386 brother living, and after consulting with him went to Belmont, where Chief Justice Charles Dunn lived, and surrendered himself. Next day Judge Dunn and Crawford came to Mineral Point. Crawford gave the bonds required, and was released from custody. I was one of his bondsmen.

The affair created great excitement. Luckily the wound was not fatal, and in due course of time Murphy recovered, but retained a slight lameness during the remaining years of his life, and the matter was finally satisfactorily adjusted. It was feared for a time that this affair might injuriously affect Crawford's political prospects; but after we had succeeded in nominating him for associate judge of the state supreme court, in 1853, his talents and acknowledged ability as a jurist, and a true understanding of the Murphy case, carried him safely through the canvass. Dunn was by birth a southerner—a Kentucky gentleman—where it was considered a disgrace not to resent a personal assault. Crawford could only regain his standing by complying with the exaction of his partner.

In the summer of 1845 I was visited by two Swiss gentlemen, Messrs. Fridolin Streiff and Nicholas Duerst.¹ They were sent out by the government of the canton of Glarus, in Switzerland, for the purpose of selecting a tract of land whereon to settle a colony of emigrants from that canton. They called on me for advice. I prevailed on my brother Frederick, who still lived on the farm on which we had settled in 1834, to place his horses at the disposal of these gentlemen and carry them wherever they wished to go. I also

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engaged a competent surveyor, Arnzi Comfort, to accompany them in search of a proper tract of land, and volunteered to accompany the party.

1 See John Luchsinger's "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 335–382; also, Mathias Duerst's "Diary," *ante*, pp. 294–337.— Ed.

We first started north to examine the vacant government lands in and along the bluffs on the Wisconsin River, and camped in a tent over night. Next day we climbed a high bluff, from which we had a splendid view along and across 387 the Wisconsin River into Sauk County, where we knew, from plats we had taken at the land office at Mineral Point, that large bodies of government land were yet to be had. We concluded to cross the Wisconsin and examine the character of the land. We descended from the mountain, and traveled up stream to Helena, where C. C. Washburne was operating a shot tower. There we were ferried across the river, and traveled westward to the promised land that looked so tempting when we saw it from a distance. There was plenty of it, and the soil was very rich; but it was low ground, and we found no springs of fresh water, and only scattering timber, so concluded that it did not suit our purpose. We wanted land, water, and timber; for we were fearful that our settlers would fall victims to fever and ague, and reluctantly wound our way back, crossed the river, and returned to Mineral Point.

There we procured new plats, intending to visit the southern section of Iowa and adjoining counties. Starting out from the east fork of the Peckatonica River to Argyle, we crossed over into Green County, and toward sundown reached a valley which appeared to unite all the essential features that we needed to make a successful settlement. There were some squatters on the land, whom I knew. One was Stephen Armstrong and his wife, who had been our neighbors when we first settled on our farm in 1834. The other was a Canadian Frenchman whose name I cannot recall; but whose wife, Boleta, had for some years been a domestic in my mother's family. We spent the night there, and next morning examined the land. Comfort traced the lines. We wanted about 1200 acres, and there were that many acres and more, of splendid land, with water in abundance, and fine timber. We

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bought the claims of Armstrong and Boleta's husband, and, having arranged everything satisfactorily, returned to Mineral Point and secured the land at the land office. The money was sent by the authorities of the canton of Glarus, and Duerst soon after returned home to Switzerland. Streiff, however, remained to superintend the laying out of the village, and 388 to direct and guide the expected settlers, who in due time made their appearance. Most of them came by way of St. Louis and Galena, and stopped at my house at Mineral Point for direction and advice.

Streiff, I believe, is alive yet (1889), though I do not remember having seen him since that time. He was a gentleman of good sense, kind heart, just, a strong constitution, an indefatigable worker, and, I am told, enjoys, very justly too, the esteem and confidence of his fellow-townsmen. I have never been to New Glarus. Since my removal to La Crosse, which for the last thirty-six years has been my home, my business engagements and duties in other directions have prevented me from ever visiting the colony in whose inception and birth I assisted. But from all reports, the colony is prosperous—industry and thrift prevail. The people have preserved the honesty, integrity, activity, and love of liberty which have been the distinguishing traits of the Swiss nation for the last six hundred years.

At the outbreak of the Mexican War, a company of volunteers was organized, of which J. Clowney was elected captain and I first lieutenant. We offered our services to Governor Dodge. He accepted our offer, and told us to be ready to march to Prairie du Chien and occupy Fort Crawford, as the United States troops stationed there were already or would soon be ordered to the front. In a few days, however, the governor informed us that Wyrarn Knowlton, afterward judge of the sixth judicial district of the State, who was a resident of Prairie du Chien, had organized company composed of citizens of Crawford County, and had asked the privilege of being permitted to protect their own homes and to occupy the fort. He asked us to recall our application, promising us the first chance to go to Mexico should any farther calls for troops be made on Wisconsin by the secretary of war, to which we cheerfully assented. Shortly afterward, Captain Clowney removing from Mineral Point, resigned, and I was elected captain. We anxiously waited for orders

from the government; but they 389 never came, for the war terminated soon after, by the capture of the City of Mexico.

The foregoing reminiscences embrace the principal events within my personal knowledge, occurring during the minority of our growing and noble State of Wisconsin. Most of the old pioneers whose brains, energy and courage shaped its destiny and directed its course are gone to their last homes, but their deeds will endure. With the inauguration of statehood, a new era commenced. The upward career of Wisconsin has surpassed the expectations of its most sanguine friends.

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SURVEYING IN WISCONSIN, IN 1837. BY FRANKLIN HATHEWAY.1

1 Franklin Hatheway, author of this sketch, was born at Rome, Oneida County, N.Y., July 12, 1818, of Vermont parents. His great-grandfather, Simeon Hatheway, fought, together with his seven sons, under General Stark in the battle of Bennington. Later in the war, one of these sons, Joshua (grandfather of our author), was one of the "Green Mountain Boys" under Ethan Allan, and saw much active service; after the war, he entered Yale College and graduated therefrom in 1787. Removing in 1795 to Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N.Y.), he was elected first treasurer of Oneida County, and was postmaster at Rome from 1808 to 1833. During the War of 1812–15, he was in the military service, and at one time was commandant at Sackett's Harbor. By appointment from Gov. DeWitt Clinton, he was the first to break ground for the Erie Canal (July 4, 1817). His wife was a daughter of John Haynes Lord, of Hartford, Conn., a lineal descendant of the John Haynes who was governor of Massachusetts in 1635, and later governor of Connecticut (at intervals between 1639 and 1653). The oldest son of Joshua was the father of our author; for many years he was one of the leading merchants of Rome, and succeeded his father as postmaster, holding office from 1833 to 1849; he was also treasurer of Oneida County for ten years. In October, 1817, he married Zeruiah Cleveland, whose father was a brother of the grandfather of ex-President Cleveland. Their son Franklin first came to Wisconsin

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when 17 years of age (August, 1835), in company with his uncle, Joshua Hatheway. Landing in Green Bay, they were present during the great government land sale there, in September. Returning to Rome in July, 1836, Franklin was at once engaged on surveys for the Genessee Valley Canal. The summer of 1837 he spent as related in his sketch below. Upon completing his work at Madison and Green Bay, he returned to Rome to recuperate his health, spending the following winter and spring in his father's store and in the principal charge of the Rome post-office. In August, 1838, he commenced work in the engineering corps of the Utica & Syracuse Railroad; and June 27, 1839, went to Syracuse upon the first train of cars to pass through central New York. In the spring of 1843, he returned to Milwaukee, forming a real-estate partnership with his uncle, Joshua Hatheway, which continued until the autumn of 1845; he then spent a year and a half at Cleveland, as a bank official, and in the spring of 1847 was called to Chicago, where he has since resided.— Ed.

My uncle, Joshua Hatheway, came out from the East in 1833 or 1834, being then associated with the late Albert G. Ellis, as a surveyor. In the early summer of 1835, he went to Washington, and secured a contract from the general land office to survey and subdivide into sections, townships Nos. 1, 2, 3, N., ranges 20, 21, 22, 23, E., in the extreme southeast corner of what is now Wisconsin—but then, a part of Michigan Territory. One or two families had located at the mouth of Pike Creek (now the City of Kenosha), and perhaps a dozen families at the mouth of Root River (now Racine); but besides these few residents on the lake shore, there was not a single farmer or farm house in the entire

Franklin Hatheway (From photograph taken upon his eightieth birthday.)

391 district. It was arranged to put two surveying parties in the field;—one led by Mr. Hatheway, and the other by John Banister (afterwards a prominent citizen of Fond du Lac). The entire party—numbering with the cook and the packer ten men, of whom I was one—were to occupy one tent during the progress of the work. We left Milwaukee on Christmas Day (1835), on foot, and before the end of the year were actively at work. Two months

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sufficed to complete the survey; about the first of March, 1836, a portion of the party was dismissed, and the others spent about a month in surveying and laying out the future city of Racine, under the lead of David Giddings, who was a member of the Territorial house of representatives (1840–42), and later a member of the first constitutional convention. Mr. Giddings now owns and lives on the celebrated “Macy” farm of 400 acres, near Fond du Lac, the only known survivor (March, 1898), except the writer, of those surveying parties. We then returned to Milwaukee, and spent the summer in laying out several additions to the village site; the most prominent being “Walker’s Point Addition,” on the south bank of Menomonee River, from its junction with the Milwaukee River westward, for half a mile or more.

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In this work we were assisted by Daniel Wells, Jr. (now of Milwaukee), and having found a small, deserted log hut standing on the extreme point where the two rivers met, we took possession; it was the only habitation in the entire subdivision.

I spent the following winter at my Eastern home, with my parents, but again turned my steps westward in the spring of 1837, and landed at Green Bay. After a few weeks, I joined my uncle in Milwaukee, where I had temporary work in fitting and joining together the sheets which compose the first map of the Territory of Wisconsin, and writing in the names of the several counties. It seems that when the map was engraved, the names and boundaries of the counties had not been legally established; or, that the engravers had omitted an important part of their work, which it became necessary to supply; and so this work of completing the map came to my hand.¹

¹ Topographical Map of Wisconsin Territory, published by Samuel Morrison and Elisha Dwelle, of the surveyor general's office, Cincinnati, and Joshua Hatheway, of Milwaukee, 1837. This map embraces only the lands south and east of Wisconsin and Fox rivers—all that had, up to that time, been purchased from the Indians.— Ed.

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While thus engaged, I learned that James Duane Doty (afterwards Territorial governor), who was then living at Green Bay, desired to engage a surveyor to lay out the city of Madison, which the Territorial Legislature had, at its recent session, designated as the future capital. I decided to return to the Bay and apply for the job, and was informed that the county surveyors from Brown County and from Mineral Point² had both attempted to do the work, and were, for some cause not known to me, obliged to abandon it. This did not prevent me from making personal application to Mr. Doty, as I had a good compass and thought I knew how to use it. He evidently thought that my youth and inexperience precluded all hope of success, where older and wiser heads had failed; but I finally

² Moses M. Strong was the Mineral Point surveyor. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 86–88, for the story of his experiences.— Ed.

393 cured from him the privilege of attempting the survey on condition that, in case of failure to complete it, I should make no charge for my time or expenses.

My arrangements for the journey were soon completed, and I started on horseback, with only a change of underwear in my saddle-bag, and compass on my arm, for the scene of my future labors. The only route open for travel was the military road to Fort Winnebago, passing around the east and south sides of Lake Winnebago, and following the general course of the Upper Fox River, to the fort; thence by the Mineral Point road south, to about the latitude of Fourth Lake; thence east across the country, to the site of the future capital. This journey—partly alone, on horseback, and from the Brothertown Reservation to Fort Winnebago, about eighty miles on foot, with two Indian boys to carry provisions, blankets, etc.—occupied a full week.

Excluding the improvements on the reservation, there were but two houses between DePere and Fort Winnebago — one at Wrightstown, another at Fond du Lac. A few miles east of the fort we passed a lone man plowing with a span of horses; his covered wagon, in which he slept, standing by the roadside. He had located on the north side of the

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road, in the open prairie, and was probably the first farmer to break ground west of Lake Winnebago.

On reaching the site of Madison, the first week was spent in locating and establishing the section lines that meet and cross in the center of the Capitol Park and follow the streets and avenues that diverge from its four corners. From these lines as a base, the sides of the square, and their exact location and length, were to be determined; upon their accuracy, all the work of the survey depended, and in the prosecution of this preliminary work I met with the same difficulty that had baffled the skill of the old county surveyors. After exhausting every expedient at my command, in fruitless efforts to run a straight line with the compass, I was forced to the conclusion that it could not be done; for repeated trials made with the utmost care, on a 394 north-and-south line, showed that lines run on the same course, as indicated by the needle, crossed each other at every attempt. It was supposed that local magnetic attraction of some sort deflected the needle at various points, and prevented its normal action, and it therefore could not be depended upon for accurate work. I was convinced that, unless some means could be found to neutralize the effects thus produced, the work could not go on; and that for want of the requisite knowledge and skill, and proper instruments, I would be compelled to score another failure.

There was, at that time, a gang of masons and stonecutters on the ground, at work getting out material for the foundation of the capitol, which was to occupy the center of the park. The precise location of this center was yet to be determined from the boundary lines, which were first to be accurately and definitely established by the surveyor; for this reason, my failure was certain to embarrass and delay, and perhaps stop, their work, and cause loss to the contractors as well.

It was therefore with a heavy heart that I reported to the commissioner in charge, Augustus A. Bird, my inability to make the survey, and my intention to start for Green Bay on the following day. While explaining to him the obstacles in my way, it fortunately happened

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that a traveller who had stopped at our boarding house for the night, on his way across the country, heard our conversation; at its conclusion, he approached me, and, asking a few questions relative to the work in hand, suggested a mode of operation which at once seemed to remove all difficulties. It would take too much time and space to explain in detail the *modus operandi* ; suffice it to say, that the plan recommended was adopted, was entirely successful, and proved to be so accurate that, as the work progressed, any error in course or distance was at once discovered and corrected. The next morning, the traveller (whose name I did not learn) resumed his journey, and I never again saw him. With a cheerful, thankful heart, I began operations in the field, and before the noon hour arrived had the boundary 395 lines of the Capitol Park located and staked out, and my work fairly started.

Soon after this, the postmaster, John Catlin, was suddenly called to New York, and it became necessary for him to appoint a deputy to act during his absence. Having served in that capacity under my father, in my native town, I was familiar with the laws and regulations of the post-office department, so I was duly appointed, and found no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the office during Catlin's protracted absence. As I now remember, we had mails brought on horseback from Milwaukee, Mineral Point, and Green Bay, once or twice a week. The post-office consisted of small case of pigeon holes, closed by doors, standing on one end of the counter, in the only store then in operation. This was store, saloon, and post-office, all in one, and was the lounging place of the workmen after finishing the day's labor. The building, a one-story frame, without lath or plaster, was, as I afterwards learned, built and owned by Simeon Mills, and was one of the four buildings then standing—the other three being: a log house south of the park, near the bank of Third Lake; a large one-and-a-half story frame boarding house and tavern, the entire upper floor being one bare room, with rows of beds on each side, under the eaves, and a passage-way through the middle, barely high enough to allow a man to stand erect; and a small frame office, for the use of Commissioner Bird; these comprised all the improvements of which Madison could then boast.

The ground between Third and Fourth lakes was covered with a moderately heavy growth of timber, and an undergrowth of hazel and other bushes, quite dense in some places. In proceeding with the survey, it became necessary to clear away every thing that obstructed the sight along the lines to be located and measured; So that the work required much more time to complete than would have been necessary on an open prairie; but nothing occurred to check our progress until the area covered by the plat given me to work from had all been surveyed and properly staked off.

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It was about September 15 when I finished this work, and commenced to explore the country lying between Madison and the head of Lake Winnebago, a distance of about sixty-five miles, through an unknown and uninhabited region. Governor Doty and his associates were anxious to avoid the long detour via Fort Winnebago, to reach the capital from the north, and engaged me to examine the country along the most direct route between those points, and report on the feasibility of opening a wagon road across the intervening country. Accordingly, I purchased an Indian pony, and placing my saddle-bags, blankets, and provisions on his back, struck out with my two assistants. We took a northeasterly course, and soon reached the open prairie, which was dotted here and there with groves of burr oak, in the distance resembling cultivated orchards. The country through which we passed was chiefly a high, rolling prairie, having a rich soil, covered with rank vegetation, but destitute of living streams. A long, hot summer had dried up the sloughs and the few water-courses that crossed our path, and we suffered severely from thirst. The first night out, we camped in a thicket of hazel bushes, and after dark moistened our parched throats with dew gathered from the leaves. Our provisions, consisting of rusty pork and hard tack, were bad enough, but the best then to be had in Madison; finding nothing better than stagnant water to drink, only added to our discomfort.

On the afternoon of the second day, having reached the vicinity of Fox Lake, I was taken violently ill, and for a few hours doubted whether I should ever get up again; but towards

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noon of the next day, I mounted my horse, and taking a westerly course, after six or eight hours travel we reached Fort Winnebago just at night fall. Here I found a hearty welcome in the comfortable quarters of Lieut. William Root¹ (a son of Gen. Erastus Root, of New York) and all needful attention and restoratives; but lacking strength to continue the work in hand, the next day I sent my two men with the horse to Green Bay, there to await my arrival,

1 Of the 5th Regiment.— Ed.

397 and accepted an invitation given me by the surgeon of the post, to accompany him on a trip down the Fox River by boat.

Two Mackinac boats, laden with furs for the American Fur Co., were hourly expected from the Upper Wisconsin River, and similar boats were lying in Fox River, opposite the fort, waiting to receive their cargoes; these had to be transferred on the backs of Indians and half-breeds, over a land portage about a mile and a quarter in length. Several days were consumed in this work; but after a week's sojourn at the fort as the guest of Lieutenant Root, I went on board one of the boats, with the surgeon, and two soldiers detailed to serve him on his journey, and we were soon floating lazily down the river.

From Portage to Lake Winnebago the river wound its tortuous way through broad rice marshes, which in many places extended as far as the eye could reach on either side; but occasionally the channel ran close to high points of land that jutted into the marshy waste. No habitations were seen at any place on its banks, but myriads of blackbirds fed on the wild rice, and numberless ducks and geese covered the open waters.

Passing from the river into Lake Winnebago, at the site of the future city of Oshkosh,— then covered with a heavy growth of timber and uninhabited,¹ — we made a pleasant run down the lake, and entered the Lower Fox River, where our progress was impeded by frequent rapids and falls, at each of which it was necessary to unload the boats and carry the cargoes overland to deep water below. This trip consumed about a week's time. We

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reached Green Bay September 29, where I found my men anxiously awaiting my arrival. After promptly reporting to Governor Doty the

1 Webster Stanley set up a ferry at Coon's Point, Oshkosh, in July, 1836, thus becoming the founder of that city. The following month, he was joined by the Gallup brothers (Henry and Amos). In 1837, George Wright and his son William, David Evans, Chester Ford, and Joseph Jackson arrived and became permanent settlers. All these were in Oshkosh (then called "Athens") at the time of our author's visit.— Ed.

398 results of our trip so far as accomplished, they were paid off, and started for home via Fond du Lac and Fox Lake, in order to complete the examination which my sudden illness had interrupted.

The governor was so well pleased with my success that he offered me a winter's work in surveying and laying out the "City of the Four Lakes," which was projected on a grand scale, and intended to occupy a magnificent site on the northwesterly side of Fourth Lake, opposite the capital.¹ It was a tempting offer, the pay being liberal, and the advantages to me all that could have been desired; but its acceptance involved the hardships and exposure of a winter campaign, with only a tent for shelter, and well knowing all that this involved, I reluctantly declined his urgent request. I was still suffering from the effects of the late attack of illness, and felt that my strength was not equal to the labor which the undertaking would impose upon me. The panic of 1837 put an end to the proposed "City of the Four Lakes," as it also did to hundreds of other speculative schemes which had a splendid existence on paper, but which, owing to the hard times that followed, never materialized.

1 At what is now known as Livesey's Springs.— Ed.

Were an intelligent and educated stranger, who knew nothing of the history of Wisconsin, now to make a tour through the state, examining in detail its cities, towns, railroads, factories and farms, and then be told that all the results of human enterprise, labor, and

skill which he had witnessed had been accomplished during the last sixty years, he might be pardoned if he regarded the statement as a gross exaggeration; nevertheless, it would be but a simple recital of a marvelous fact.

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REPORT ON THE QUALITY AND CONDITION OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY, 1831. BY SAMUEL STAMBAUGH.¹

¹ Stambaugh was United States Indian agent at Green Bay, 1831–32, being succeeded by George Boyd in September of the latter year. See Morgan L. Martin's estimate of Stambaugh, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 392; also, numerous references to him in many of the volumes of this series. The interesting report here given has been copied from the original MS. on file in the War Department at Washington, through the kindness of Lewis S. Patrick, of Marinette.— Ed.

Indian Agency, Green Bay , November 8, 1831.

To the Secretary of War :

Sir: Instructions communicated to me from the War Department, under date of April 21st, 1831, directing the payment of certain duties relating to the Treaty entered into between the United States and the Menominie Tribe of Indians, on the 9th day of February last,² require that I should “ *traverse the Country ceded for the benefit of New York Indians, and by observation and information endeavor to ascertain the quality and condition of it, that the Senate in their ensuing session may be fully informed of its capacity to sustain their population, and of its capability to administer to their wants in all agricultural purposes .*”

² This treaty was concluded at Washington, February 8, 1831, between John H. Eaton, secretary of war, and Samuel C. Stambaugh, Indian agent at Green Bay, representatives of the president, and the chiefs and head men of the Menomonees. See *Treaties* between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837

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(Washington, 1837), pp. 466–474. Other documents relative to the migration of the “New York Indians” to Wisconsin are given in many of the preceding volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.* See Davidson's résumé of this much-controverted matter, in his “The Coming of the New York Indians to Wisconsin,” in *Wis.Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, pp. 153—185.— Ed.

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These instructions further say—“ *it is desirable that a partial examination be made of the lands ceded between Lake Michigan and Green Bay ,*” and add, that “ *any survey of the country will be useless and unnecessary until the Treaty be ratified; a general view of it, its situation, soil and capacity for those who are to inhabit it is all that will be necessary, and to these it is requested you will give your attention, in the examination to be made, that the Senate when they come to act upon this long contested matter, may thoroughly comprehend the whole grounds of controversy, and be able definitely to adjust and settle it .*”

I have the honor to inform you that the duties prescribed by the above instructions, have been performed. And, as the controversy which has given origin to the proposed examination has assumed an imposing attitude, and has become of serious importance to the Government, I have quoted my Instructions thus copiously, for the purpose of showing that I have not transcended the powers they convey, by the latitude I have found it necessary to take in the prosecution of my investigations. It would be entirely impossible to place this “long contested matter” before the Senate, in such a form as would enable that body to “thoroughly comprehend the whole ground of controversy,” by a brief Geographical sketch of the country, “ceded by the Menominie Treaty.” I have, therefore, applied all the means within my power to obtain a full and correct understanding of the subject matter of this dispute, and have embraced the result of my inquiries, relating to the original cause, commencement and progress of the controversy, in my Report to you of the 14th of August, to which you will find it necessary to refer in examining this communication.

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That report exhibits all the testimony upon which each party relies for a favorable judgment, and, when considered in connection with the facts contained in this communication, the object contemplated by the spirit of my instructions will, I trust, be accomplished. In this letter I have deemed it sufficient to give, first, a general view of the whole country claimed by the Menominies; describe the situation 401 of the *Green Bay settlement*, as a point from which we can understandingly approach the different boundary lines of the disputed territory, and then detail the particular facts relating to it which I have been able to collect by a careful and laborious examination. With these preliminary remarks, Sir, I submit, with due respect, the following Report for your consideration; and request that it may be laid before the Senate of the United States in any manner or form you may deem most advisable.

The Country claimed by the Menominie Tribe of Indians lies within the bounds of the contemplated Territory of Huron.¹ As an agricultural and commercial place it may be with safety said, that it will occupy the most central and important part of the new Territory, and must naturally be the first to attract the attention of emigrants intending to engage in those pursuits. It is bounded on the East by Lake Michigan—on the South by the head waters of Winnebago Lake and the Rocky [Rock] and Manaywaukee [Milwaukee] rivers—on the West, by the Wisconsin, Chippewa and Black rivers—and on the North, by the Chippewa Country, in the direction of Lake Superior. The quantity of Land within these boundaries may be fairly estimated at *eight millions of acres* ! And, I believe it is not presuming too much to say, at least two thirds of it is fit for cultivation, and offers attractions to the Agriculturist rarely to be found in any country. The *soil* presents every indication of fertility—it appears generally to be a mixture of brown loam and marl; is very deep, and wherever its properties have been tested has been found uncommonly productive. The whole country is bountifully supplied with water from Lakes, rivers and innumerable small creeks; and, with the exception of several extensive and valuable prairies, it is covered with a heavy growth of Oak, Hickory, 27

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¹ For several years, James Duane Dory attempted to have the "Territory of Huron" created by Congress, with Green Bay as its capital; he had previously suggested the name "Territory of Chippewau;" later the name "Wisconsin" was substituted. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 380, 465, 470; and xii, pp. 220–246.— Ed.

402 Maple, Cherry, Birch, Lynn, Bass, Cotton, Butternut, Elm, Ash and Pine Timber. Indeed, it abounds with all kinds of wood of the best quality, and for Cabinet and other work, except the Black Walnut and Chestnut; which is very scarce, if to be found at all, in the country. The hydraulic privileges are very valuable; there are some of the finest mill sites on several streams emptying into Green Bay, that I have ever seen, both as it regards economy in constructing the necessary improvements, and the ease with which they can be approached from the surrounding country. The *Seasons* are warm enough for all kinds of Agricultural purposes, and the climate is remarkably healthy.

Green Bay is a handsome sheet of water, and is, generally, very deep—it is *ninety* miles in length and from *five* to *twenty five* in depth. It may be properly called an estuary, for Fox River, which it receives at its head, or southwestern extremity, and then runs a course northeastwardly to Lake Michigan, which it enters about one hundred and twenty miles south of Mackinac, and about two hundred and fifty miles nearly north from Chicago, This bay is navigable for steamboats and schooners of any tonnage that can be brought on the Lakes, to the entrance of Fox River, and up this river about six miles. There are a number of valuable Islands on the Bay, and it abounds in harbors equal to any between this place and Buffalo, in ease of access and safe anchorage. The channel is wide and strongly marked, until near the mouth of Fox River, where it becomes somewhat crooked, but can always be found without difficulty or the least danger.

"Green Bay settlement," in the township of Green Bay, is the seat of Justice for Brown county; and is situated immediately at the head of the Bay, in 44° 40 m of N. latitude, and 87° of W. longitude. It embraces a tract of country, commencing at a point about half a mile above the entrance of Fox River, and extends up and along the river on both sides,

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six miles, running back on each side, three miles, so as to form a square containing a township or twenty three thousand and forty acres of land. This tract has been confirmed 403 to individual claimants, under Acts of Congress, passed in the years 1820, '23 & '28. There are about an hundred dwelling houses scattered over the settlement, nearly an equal number on each side of Fox River, which runs a N. E. course through the centre of it, but none of them are above four hundred yards distant from its margin. The land is not cleared at any point more than half a mile back from the river, and I have estimated the whole quantity of land cleared and under any kind of cultivation within the confirmed claims, at *two thousand five hundred acres!* The remainder is a wilderness.—There is, perhaps, the greatest quantity of land under cultivation on the West side of the River, and certainly the best crops are raised on that side. But the farming is entirely different from what I have been accustomed to see—the inhabitants are principally Canadians, who came to the country as Traders or Voyageurs, and are but indifferent cultivators of the soil. The few American citizens located here, have heretofore, generally, been engaged in the Indian Trade and mechanical occupation. None of them until within the last two years had turned their attention to farming; but they have already received convincing proofs of the fertility of the soil, and its adaptation to the growth of wheat, rye, corn and clover; as well as to vegetation of every description. *Vegetables* of a root kind, especially potatoes, beets and turnips, are produced in surprising quantities; and I do not believe they are equalled in size or quality, by the growth of Pennsylvania or New Jersey.

There is but one Grist Mill in the Menominie country, or indeed within several hundred miles of it; and it is so badly constructed that it can do but little business. It is located eighteen miles above the settlement, on Fox River, at the rapids called the “Grand Kaccalin;”¹ and is on a confirmed claim, occupying near a mile square, which is the only claim confirmed to citizens in the Menominie country, beside those I have described as constituting the Green Bay settlement. In consequence of being thus destitute of the

¹ The present Kaukauna.— Ed.

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404 means of having their grain manufactured into flour, the great bulk of the wheat raised by the inhabitants, is used for feeding cattle, and the flour required for the sustenance of the population is principally brought from the mills in Ohio, bordering on Lake Erie. The quantity of this article consumed here annually, does not fall short of fifteen hundred barrels, exclusive of the supply imported for the use of the garrison, and for the Indian Department.

Fort Howard is located on the best land of Fox River, less than a mile above its entrance into Green Bay. It occupies an elevated and commanding position; which, by a curve in the course of the river below gives it entire command over the pass by water to and from the settlement. The ground occupied by the Garrison is within the boundary of the confirmed claims, and the Fort stands about half a mile above the lower line of this boundary. The law of 1828, confirming these claims,¹ has a proviso reserving a quantity of land sufficient for military purposes, and the surveyor employed by the Government to fix the boundary lines did not make a survey of the land in the vicinity of the Fort, in consequence of instructions to that effect, founded upon the above reservation. Notwithstanding the prohibitions of the law, however, plainly as they are expressed

¹ The early French squatted upon their claims at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, as elsewhere in the Western country. When American military commandants came to occupy the forte there, these original settlers were sometimes evicted, especially at Prairie du Chien. Congress being appealed to, passed acts for their relief, under which officers of the land department reported upon the private claims. In 1796, the Jay treaty provided for confirmation of claims to farm and village lots, after proper examination into the equity thereof. In the War of 1812–15, many of the French took sides with the English, and forfeited their rights. But in 1820, when the first serious examination was made by Isaac Lee, of Detroit, sent out for the purpose, all those who had continuously occupied claims since 1796 were confirmed in their possession, the government overlooking the offense of the British sympathizers. Lee's examination was followed in 1828, by a detailed survey, by Lucius Lyon, United States deputy surveyor for Michigan Territory. See details of

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these transactions, with citations to acts of Congress, in *History of Crawford and Richland Counties* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1884), pp. 264–279.— Ed.

405 pressed, the inhabitants erected numerous small buildings on this reservation, which have generally been converted into grog shops, and are a very great annoyance to the Garrison. This subject, I have understood, has frequently been urged upon the attention of the Department, and I think it worthy of serious consideration. I have now given you a concise geographical sketch of the Menominie country, generally, and have attempted to add a statistical view, more particularly, of the Green Bay settlement.

I have thought this necessary to enable those who may examine the provisions of the Menominie Treaty, to form a more correct idea, and perhaps a better estimate, of the country which is ceded to the United States, and of the advantages offered to those for whom it provides, than if I confined my description alone to the ceded territory. History has yet taken but little notice of this country, or I should not have presumed to adopt this course; nor would I have done so if this communication was intended for your consideration only, as I am aware that your knowledge of the country is too accurate to be improved by any history of mine. I will now proceed to exhibit to you the present location of the New York Indians, who have removed upon the land they claim from the Menominies, under their Treaty stipulations of 1821 and '22; and will then give you a particular description of the country provided for them, by the late Treaty, in accordance with my instructions.

The whole number of Notaways or New York Indians, men, women, children, who have emigrated to this country, and are now settled here, is according to their own estimate, *five hundred and ninety-eight*, exclusive of about twenty Brothertown Indians who came here this fall. Of this number, the Oneidas claim 365; and the Stockbridges, including some Munces who have joined their tribe, claim 232; these, with the Rev. Eleazer Williams,¹ a half breed of the St. Regis Tribe, compose the body of the New York Indians settled in the Menominie country, who have occupied no

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1 See Wight's "Eleazer Williams," *Parkman Club Papers*, No. 7; also, numerous accounts in previous volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*— Ed.

406 ordinary share of the attention and *funds* of the government for the last ten years. At least two hundred and ten of the above number, too, came here during the summer of 1830. The Stockbridge Tribe is located on the east bank of Fox River, at the Grand Reservation—their improvements commence about the middle of the rapids, and extend up and along the river to the Little Chute, distance of about three miles; and there is one building commenced on the margin of the river, two miles above the Chute. They have erected altogether about forty five buildings, intended as dwelling houses—generally very ordinary log huts, except the Mission house,¹ which is a large frame building, situated on the bank of the Kaccalin. They have also erected and in operation, at this end of the settlement, a very indifferent Saw Mill, which does but little business, although water privileges in the vicinity are immensely valuable. In addition to these improvements they have a school house and smith shop. I have not accurately ascertained the quantity of land these Indians have under cultivation, but it is evident that they farm better than the French inhabitants at Green Bay, and raise much better crops. They have satisfactorily established the character of the soil and climate for the growth of winter wheat, by the excellence of their crop the last season.

1 See papers relative to the Stockbridge mission, *ante*.— Ed.

The principal Oneida settlement is on the West side of the Fox River, at Duck Creek, a fine stream emptying into Green Bay three miles below fort Howard. Their improvements are spread over an extent of a mile in width. They have two hundred and thirty seven acres of land cleared and under cultivation; upon which are erected thirty three small log dwelling houses. They have also a Saw-mill, which has just been finished and put in operation; and the frame of a grist mill, with a very neat church and school house commenced. The saw mill is the lowest, or most northerly improvement in the settlement—it is about eight miles above the mouth of Duck Creek, which at this place runs nearly a parallel course, with Fox

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River, and their 407 settlement is about the same distance from Fort Howard in a N. W. direction. The land cultivated by the Oneidas at this place is of the best quality. The soil is a dark loam mixed with limestone gravel, is very deep and has proved itself exceedingly productive. They have not yet raised any wheat or rye, but their corn, potatoes and turnip crops are excellent. Their crop of corn this season yielded fifteen hundred bushels. At this settlement there are 279 of the Oneida Tribe located—the remaining 86, are settled on the west side of the Fox river above the Little Chute, adjoining the Stockbridge settlement. They commenced their settlement at this place in the summer of 1830, and have now ten houses erected, scattered over a space of two miles along the margin of the river. The distance from this settlement to that on Duck Creek is at least twenty-four miles, and the Indians have but little intercourse with each other, although they have heretofore been considered as belonging to the same tribe. The majority of those settled near the Little Chute are *half negro* ,¹ and are connected by marriage with the Stockbridge Tribe with whom it is supposed they will shortly unite, and hence dissolve all connection with the Oneida Tribe.

1 An error.— Ed.

Eleazer Williams , the representative of the Regis Indians, has his location on the west side of the Fox river, at the Little Kaccalin, ten miles above Fort Howard. He is united by marriage, to a daughter of one of the French settlers at Green Bay; and when he happens to be in the country, which is very seldom, he resides principally at the house of his father-in-law, and rents his house at *Little Kaccalin* to a tenant. In this situation it is at present.

There has been no settlement made here by any of the New York Tribes, claiming under purchase made from the Menominies, other than those I have mentioned. About twenty of the Brothertown tribe arrived here this fall, and have commenced a settlement at the Little Kaccalin, on the east side of Fox river, although by going directly across the river, a distance less than two hundred yards, they could 408 have settled upon the land set apart for them by the Treaty made last winter,—I advised them to do so on account of their own

comfort and safety, and strove to convince them that “their conduct in settling upon this land in direct opposition to the provisions of the Treaty, which had already received the sanction of the President, and had been laid before the Senate, would be construed as a disregard of the authority of the Government, and might be prejudicial to their interests. They replied, that they had their “ *own boundaries* , and would settle where they pleased on any land which had been obtained originally from the Menominies, by the New York Tribes, and which *they* afterwards had purchased.” They are now erecting huts at this place and appear determined to retain their position.

The principal Menomonie Chiefs have earnestly demanded the removal of the Brothertowns. They appeared much exasperated, at first, and it was with some difficulty they could be restrained from using force to remove the intruders. I assured the Menominies that the removal of the stranger Indians upon this land would not impair their treaty stipulations with the United States, nor diminish the kind feeling entertained toward them by the government, but that, should the Treaty be ratified by the Senate, all its provisions would be carried into effect. With this assurance the Chiefs left me apparently satisfied, although some of their finest sugar Camps are on the land occupied by the Brothertown Indians, which will be much injured if not entirely destroyed by their settlement.

Having now, sir, exhibited the *present* location and condition of the New York Tribes, who have emigrated to this country, in a manner which I trust will enable you to form a correct opinion relative to their change of position, by comparison; I will proceed to give you a description of the country provided by the Treaty for their permanent homes. The information I have the honor of communicating to you may be found deficient in geographical description, but I can vouch for its correctness, and I trust you will find it, intelligible.

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The country allotted by the agreement between the United States and the Menominie Tribe for the New York Indians lies on the west side of the Fox River and Green Bay. It contains, as near as I can compute the quantity of land without a survey, *five hundred and seventy thousand* acres. The boundaries of this country, as defined by the Treaty, are pretty accurately laid down on the *map*, which will accompany this communication. The upper line at the “old mill dam,” near the head of Little Kaccalin is about eleven miles *above* Fort Howard. This is perhaps the most valuable mill site on Fox river,¹ not only on account of the powerful head of water which it commands, but in consequence of its being on the first rapids of any importance above the settlement, and nearest to the head of ship navigation. The line leaves the river at this place and runs back a N. W. course, forty miles, and thence a N. E. course about eight, miles to Oconto river; thence down the Oconto to its entrance into Green Bay, which is about *thirty two* miles *below* Fort Howard; thence up and long the shore of the bay and Fox river to the place of beginning. Thus, you will perceive that the country selected for the New York Indians, is in the immediate neighborhood of the Green Bay settlement, and borders on the Bay, and river upwards of forty miles, including the short distance occupied by the confirmed claims, and that reserved for military purposes. The country above the settlement bounding this tract, presents a picturesque, rich and inviting appearance. The banks are high, but easy of ascent, and contain building sites equal in beauty, and much resembling those of the Hudson River. In some places, the ground rises to an elevation of eighty feet above the surface of the water, and continues at the same elevation several miles back from the river, through fine oak openings and extensive natural meadows, perfectly level and of apparently the richest soil. About a mile *below* the “old mill dam,” or upper line of this tract, the high ground recedes several hundred yards from the river, along a distance of above half a mile, leaving

¹ See *ante*, pp. 11–13.— Ed.

310 a fine, rich meadow on its bank, of several hundred acres. The house of Eleazer Williams, of the St. Regis Tribe, is erected on this meadow, and consequently, he has

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a territory of a *mile in width* between his location and the upper boundary line of the cession. This part of the country will be valuable to these Indians, not more on account of its advantages and desirable location, than to the excellence of the soil, and the ease and cheapness with which the finest farms can be cultivated.

The boundaries of the country provided for their future locations also entirely encompass the *Oneida settlement* on Duck Creek. The line, running back from the "old mill dam," passes the settlement at least six miles west and south of the extreme point of their improvements, in this direction. This Tribe, therefore, surely ought not to complain of the location made by the Treaty, nor can I believe they would do so, if left to the exercise of their own judgment. The land on the borders of Duck Creek is of a superior quality. A high, limestone ridge passes through the settlement, dividing a small branch from the main waters of this creek, upon which the soil will compare for depth and richness with any land in the country. This ridge extends in a westerly direction, toward Wolf river, between the branches of Duck Creek, and has an extensive, fertile and beautiful valley on each side, which bears a heavy growth of valuable timber.

Where it crosses the upper line of the cession, N. W. from Little Kaccalin, it must be about ten miles from the river, and at a point opposite the Grand Kaccalin, the distance of the ridge from the river is about fifteen miles. The land in this direction rather improves in appearance, and I presume continues equally good for thirty or forty miles. Opposite the "Little Chute," twenty miles back from Fox river, there is a delightful tract of country—the land inclines to a rolling cast, and is covered with red, white & black oak, and the most beautiful groves of sugar maple, without any under brush.

There are several strips of the land, occupying the intermediate space between Green Bay and Duck creek settlements, 411 that are low and marshy; and are so thickly covered with under brush as to render clearing very laborious. But, there is also within this space a large quantity of high rolling land of the richest soil; and one extensive ridge is covered with a grove of Pine trees, of a large and handsome growth, which from its location

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must soon be immensely valuable to the future owners of this country. *Duck Creek* at its mouth, is a still sluggish stream, about two hundred feet wide. The land in the vicinity, in consequence of the water from the Bay rising to its level, has a marshy appearance, and the soil in some places may be called alluvial; but the prairies thus formed have a luxuriant growth of fine grass and are very valuable. These and other prairies surrounding the Green Bay settlement, supply the inhabitants with all the hay they feed to their cattle. Between three and four miles above the mouth of Duck Creek, its waters become rapid, and the banks high, which character it retains until it passes far above the S. W. boundary of the country given to these Tribes. The bed of the creek is fiat limestone rock; and just below the Oneidas' mill it is covered with smooth limestone flags, five and six feet square, having the appearance of artificial preparation. The mill is erected on the east bank of the creek, and receives the water immediately from the dam through a wooden flume between thirty and forty feet in length. There are fine groves of Pine convenient to this mill on both sides of the creek; and the land is composed of a dark rich mellow soil along its margin, until within a mile and a half of Green Bay, where it becomes swampy. North of the Oneida settlement there are some cedar and tamarack swamps; and the land is not generally, perhaps, so good for agricultural purposes, as that in the immediate vicinity. But the fine streams of water to be found in approaching Oconto, affording the best of mill privileges, with the immense forests of white and yellow Pine on their margins, will render this portion of the country of great value to these Tribes, if they choose to avail themselves of the advantages thus offered. There are thousands of acres, forming 412 these prairies, covered with trees of a towering height and averaging from three to four feet in diameter.

Between Fort Howard and Oconto river there are beside Duck Creek, some considerable streams emptying into Green Bay. "Pa-shu-kee" or Goose Creek is the largest of these streams—and is twenty four miles below the Fort, and right above Oconto, by the course of the Bay. There is a saw mill on this stream, erected by a citizen of Green Bay,¹ about one mile and a half above its mouth, which is occupied at the will of the Government. A short distance above this mill there are fine oak springs, called the "Oak orchards" and

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a ridge of very rich land stretches from the creek toward Oconto. Near the mouth of the creek, at the Bay, there is a considerable tract of rich prairie land.

1 See *ante*, pp. 16, 17.— Ed.

The Oconto river is a large deep powerful stream, and bounds the country given to the New York Tribes on the north, about forty miles. At its mouth, or entrance into Green Bay, it is about two hundred yards wide. There is a bar extending across its entrance over which the water is only about three feet deep, but the channel can be cleared with very little trouble or expense, and after passing the bar into the river, the water is twelve feet deep. This depth continues for several miles, and the river can be navigated in high water with schooners of a hundred tons burden, a distance of ten or twelve miles. There are extensive prairies on both sides of this river, at its mouth, upon which grass of a remarkably nutritious quality grows very luxuriantly. The meadows on the upper side, which are within the Indian cession, contain probably two thousand acres, and must at once be very valuable for grazing or hay making. In the vicinity of these meadows, and a short distance up the Oconto, the ground is on a level with the Bay, and is wet and spongy; but it soon retrieves its character and rises into fine dry prairies, and high, rolling land, covered with a heavy growth of hard timber.

The first rapids on this river commence about fourteen miles above its mouth; and about ten miles further by the course of the stream, which is very serpentine, there are perpendicular falls of about *fifty feet*, over a ledge of limestone rocks extending across the river. The stream at this place is about seventy yards wide, and dashes with great impetuosity for a mile and a half below the falls. Immediately under the fall the water forms a whirlpool, in a basin, which is about twenty feet deep. The whole formation of this cataract, and the wild scenery surrounding it, presents a romantic and interesting appearance. There are exuberant groves of Maple and Beech in the neighborhood of these falls, which is the best evidence of the fertility of the soil; and a short distance below, on the south side of the mill, the Indians have Sugar Camps, at which they manufacture

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large quantities of sugar. Above the falls the water continues rapid through the whole distance, bounding the country of the New York Indians, and contains valuable mill privileges. The land is covered with a thriving growth of Oak, Beech and Maple, and some of the valuable Prairies I have already mentioned are convenient to these mill seats.

As near as I have been able to ascertain the position of this tract of country, without a survey, I am of the opinion that the upper boundary line, running back from the "old mill dam," at Little Kaccalin, will strike a point about two miles north of *Lake Shawano* ; and the distance from the lake to Oconto is about ten miles, in a N. E. course. There are three small lakes between Shawano and Oconto; one is called *Menominin* or Rice Lake, and is covered with the Rice peculiar to this climate, which is gathered in large quantities by the Menominies, and is used as a subsistence for head stuff. The distance from Lake Shawano S. W. to Wolf river, is about four miles by the course of a small stream navigable for canoes and light boats. Wolf river is a considerable stream, navigable for large boats, emptying into Fox river about twelve miles above its entrance into Winnebago Lake.

The above view of the country intended for the future home of the New York Indians, comprises all the information worth relating of which I am possessed. It is country of immense value. At least *two-thirds* of the land within its boundaries, is fit for cultivation, and equals in fertility of soil, advantageous location, and other substantial advantages, any country of equal extent ever occupied by these Tribes in the State of New York.

The country lying on the east side of the Fox river and Green Bay ceded by the Menominie Indians to the United States, is described by the Treaty as being within the following boundaries: "Beginning at the south end of Winnebago Lake, and thence running a S. E. course to Milwauky or Manaywaukee river; thence down said river to its mouth; thence North along the shore of Lake Michigan to the entrance of Green Bay, Fox river and Winnebago Lake to the place of beginning." A clause in the Article fixing this boundary, also cedes "all the islands on Green Bay and Fox river."

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The southern extremity of Winnebago Lake, is, by a right line which would not vary more than a point or two from a due South course, about fifty five miles from Green Bay settlement. But by the course of Fox river and the lake at that point, it is seventy miles. I have no data by which to ascertain the distance from the end of Winnebago Lake, to where the boundary line defined by the Treaty would first touch Manaywaukee river, but suppose it to be about fifty miles; and it may probably be the same distance from this point to the entrance of the river into Lake Michigan. From the mouth of this river, to Chicago it is 90 miles, and by the shore of the Lake to the entrance of Green Bay, it is about one hundred and sixty miles. From this point, to the Green Bay settlement at a point opposite Fort Howard, it is ninety miles. In a direct line from this settlement to the nearest point on Lake Michigan, which would be running nearly a due east course, it is about thirty five miles. The quantity of land in this Peninsula I have estimated at *three millions of acres* !

Fox river is the largest and most important stream emptying into Green Bay. It contains numerous mill seats, which 415 must present splendid attractions to men of capital and enterprise, whenever the country is offered for sale. The fall in the river from the outlet of Winnebago Lake to Fort Howard, a distance of thirty-six miles, I have computed at one hundred feet; and I feel persuaded that it does not exceed this computation, although it was called 148 feet by one of the U. States Corps of Engineers, who took the level of the water in 1827. At the head of Green Bay settlement there is a sudden bend in the river, which changes its course for a short distance, at which a ledge of rocks extending across the bed of the river, formerly produced a considerable rapid at this place. It is called “*Rapide père*,” or “Rapids of the Fathers,”¹ from the fact that the first French Missionaries, who came to this country fixed their residence at that place. The rise of the water from the Bay for the last few years, however, has overflowed these rapids so much that they are now scarcely perceptible, and the water is four feet in depth over the ledge of rocks.

1 The modern De Pere.— Ed.

There is very little current in the river, indeed, until we reach Little Kaccalin, where there is a very powerful rapid for a distance of about a mile, in which the fall is about five feet. Perhaps no place on the river is more desirable for a mill seat than the Little Kaccalin. It is so near the head of ship navigation that produce can be floated down without any risk and at a trifling expense. The country adjacent is very inviting to the agriculturalist, and only requires an opportunity to become speedily and thickly populated. The soil is very deep, has a dark loamy appearance, and can be very easily cleared and put under cultivation. There are several sugar camps in this neighborhood, where large quantities of sugar are manufactured from large and beautiful Maple groves. About five miles back from the river there is a dense forest of Pine; which from its convenience to this mill seat, will be of great value to an enterprising owner. From the "Little" to the "Grand Kaccalin," a distance of ten miles, the land retains the same character. 416 But, examining the country from the river, a traveler would be more favorably impressed with its appearance on the west than on the east side—there are fine openings in the wood, and more elevated and prominent situations exposed to view on the West than there are on the East bank, and this appearance continues to *Little Butte des Morts* a distance of fifteen miles above the Grand Kaccalin. But the quality of the land is equal, a little distance back from the river, the appearance and character of the country is superior on the East or U.S. side. There is a considerable fall in the river between the Little and Grand Kaccalin; which offers several fine mill seats;—Boats carrying ten tons, can go to the foot of the rapids of Grand Kaccalin, from Green Bay, but here the loading must be hauled over a portage of about a mile, to overcome the falls; and the rapids above, a distance of nine miles to the Grand Chute,¹ are so strong that the load has to be divided in several parcels and taken up at different times. There is a Menominie village at the foot of the Kaccalin, on the east side of the river, on a cleared piece of land containing about an hundred acres. The ground at this place has a gradual ascent from the river, until it attains an elevation of more than ninety feet, and appears to much advantage from the river. The timber continues of a fine growth in the rear of this village, and the Stockbridge Indians have proved the soil to be warm, rich and mellow, and exceedingly productive. I have already had occasion to speak of the

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valuable water power at this place, and need not again particularize it. There is an island, lying paralel with the course of this river, extending nearly along the whole length of the rapids, which compresses the quantity and force of the water, and thus enhances the value of the mill privileges, by saving much labor and expense in making the necessary improvements. The mill, belonging to the Stockbridge Indians, is erected on the east channel; and Mr. Grignon's mill, which I have introduced in the sketch of Green Bay

1 The modern Appleton.— Ed.

417 settlement, is on the West channel, or left side of the Island, descending the river.

In a straight line from the Grand Kaccalin to the nearest point on the north shore of Winnebago Lake, the distance is only about eight miles. This line passes through a rich and beautiful body of land, covered with Oak, Hickory, Beech, Maple and Bass wood, of a healthy growth; and the corner which it severs from the Peninsula, which is a large body of land, partakes of the same good character. In following the course of the river from the Grand Kaccalin to Winnebago Lake, the distance is eighteen miles. It is three miles to the Little Chute, which produces a long and impetuous rapid, and contains several first rate mill seats. From the "Little" to the "Grand Chute" the distance is six miles. This chute has a perpendicular fall of about four feet over a fiat rock, extending in an oblique direction entirely across the river, a distance of about two hundred yards. The scenery is very fine at this place, and indeed along the whole course of the river. Some distance below the Chute there is a bold prominence at an angle in the river, which overlooks seventy miles of the rapids, which present an interesting and beautiful spectacle. At this chute, boats have to make another short portage of their loading, and it is with much labor that empty boats can be dragged over the falls.

Above the Chute the water immediately becomes deep, and the navigation is then uninterrupted to the Winnebago rapids, a distance of about eight miles. At the "Little Butte des morts," six miles above the Grand Chute, the river expands into a small lake. The "Butte" is on the west side of the river; it is on a very handsome elevation, and from the

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centre of the mound there is a fine view down the river a considerable distance, and also of the Island near the foot of Winnebago Lake about two miles above. The general course of Fox river from this point to Green Bay is about N. E. It has a rocky foundation and is not in the least affected by the freshets; Winnebago Lake serves as a reservoir for the water from the mountains above, which 28 418 would otherwise swell the river. Hence it is manifest that dams can be constructed in Fox River, either for the purpose of improving the navigation or for military purposes, with great ease and economy.

Ascending from Little Butte the river deviates from its general course, and in coasting the island toward the entrance to the lake, which is three miles above the Butte, the course is nearly due east. This Island¹ is about a mile in length, and contains about four hundred acres of land, which for depth and richness of soil is equal to any in the Territory of Michigan. It is covered with a heavy growth of Hickory, Oak, Butter nut and Bass wood, with the exception of about forty acres at the upper end of the Island, which is a fine, clear field ready for the plough. The main channel of the river, ascending, is on the right or S. W. side of the Island, and enters the Lake on the West side, about two miles from its northern extremity. From this channel or *outlet* to the branch on the other side of the Island, at its mouth, the distance is about half a mile. "There are strong rapids on both sides of the Island, upon which are excellent sites for any kind of water works." This valuable Island is within the United States purchase.

1 Doty's Island.— Ed.

Winnebago Lake is an uncommonly beautiful sheet of water, somewhat of an oval form, extending longitudinally from North to South, about thirty-five miles, and is from six to fifteen miles wide. There is only one island on this Lake² —it is about twelve miles above the outlet and nine below the entrance of Fox river, within two hundred yards of the West shore. There is a fine channel, between the Island (*which is highland rocky, containing about twenty acres*), and the main shore, which, hereafter, will furnish an important harbor for the vessels on the Lake. The country ceded to the United States, bordering this Lake

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on the north, east and south, is composed of the very best limestone land, and will be most likely to attract the attention of emigrants

2 Called "Garlic Island" by early white settlers, but now "Island Park."— Ed.

419 sooner than any other part of the ceded territory when the lands come into market. It holds an enviable position in the heart of a rich farming country, with the lead mines at hand on one side, and ship navigation on the other. There are several fine streams entering into the Lake, near its N. E. corner; and the soil in this vicinity, being a mixture of black and red loam and marl, possesses every indication of fertility. The mountain which extends nearly through the whole length of the Peninsula, occasionally approaches the east shore of the Lake along a distance of from ten to fifteen miles. The highest peak of this mountain, is in the vicinity of the land I have described at the N. E. corner of the Lake.

In examining this interesting part of the country, I was enabled by the sagacity of an Indian guide to reach the summit of this mountain, through a chasm in the rocks, and stood on the highest peak of the cliff, in a walk of less than mile from the margin of [the] Lake. This is called "Jackson Cliff"—it is about three hundred feet above the level of the Lake, and nothing can surpass the splendour of the view which it presents, over the rich valley and the waters below. I never saw land that presented stronger indications of fertility than the soil of this valley, and on the side of the mountain it is equally good. At an elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the Lake, a fine *spring* of the best drinking water rises among the rocks; in the vicinity of which there is an extensive and luxuriant grove of Sugar Maple, some of the trees measuring three feet in diameter and having a body of equal size, at least thirty feet in heighth. This spring of water is called "Wolf Fountain," and is indeed a delightful spot. The land from the top of the mountain, inclining east, has a gradual descent, and bears ample evidence of being a deep, rich soil, every foot of which is susceptible of cultivation. The timber has the appearance of being young and thriving—it is chiefly Hickory, Oak, Beech and Maple, and is entirely clear of underwood. The ledge of limestone rocks extending along the mountain at this place is very 420 valuable—immense quarries may be opened upon it, from which first rate

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stone can be obtained for building or making lime, with the greatest ease. This ledge, for a distance of about two miles, hangs over the rich valley of which I have just spoken, and overlooks thousands of acres of the finest land in the country. The land, stretching along the whole length of the Lake on the East shore to the Southern extremity, possesses the same fertilizing qualities.

About three miles from the N. E. corner of the Lake, the mountain recedes from the shore until it attains a distance of three miles, forming a beautiful valley of the same width and about twelve miles in length, covered with a heavy forest of Oak, Hickory, Maple, Beech and Butter-nut trees, This valley and mountain terminate in this direction, within fifteen miles of the S. E. corner of the Lake, in extensive dry Prairies of the choicest soil. There is a considerable indentation in the land at this place; and turning the last angle of the mountain ascending the Lake, these rich plains, covered with herbage of a luxuriant growth, have the appearance of a highly cultivated country. The Indians call these Prairies "Wase-skis-sink," which signifies "Shining Prairies." We call them "Cass Plains."¹ On the margin of the Lake, about the centre of these plains, in front, the Menominies have a large village, called *Calumet*; the chief of which, "Little Wave," is one of the Menominie Chiefs who signed the Treaty at Washington last winter. *Mana-too-woc* on *Devil's den river*, rises in several fine springs, about six miles in a direction E. S. E. from this village, and increases into a large and rapid stream of water emptying into Lake Michigan. In approaching the head of this river from Calumet village the whole extent of the plains is traversed. They contain, at a moderate estimate *fifteen thousand acres*; and are divided into fields, with surprising regularity, of about two hundred acres each, by clusters of oak and Hickory surrounding them, so arranged that each enclosure thus formed, appears, in viewing it from the centre, to be isolated

¹ Presumably after Lewis Cuss, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.— Ed.

421 from the rest. I passed over these plains in August, when they were covered with tall grass and wild flowers, which, at a little distance, gave them the appearance of rich farms, in a high state of cultivation; and upon close inspection, they losing nothing of their beauty.

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The soil is of the very best quality for successful cultivation, and every acre is ready for the plough of the farmer, without any preparatory labor except fencing.

From Calumet village to the head or southern extremity of the lake the distance is probably sixteen miles. The chief, Little Wave, accompanied me to that point, for the purpose of designating the upper boundary of the Menominie cession. There is a fine stream emptying into the head of the Lake, called Fon du Lac river. It is navigable for heavy boats about three miles. The water on the flats, near the mouth of the river, is rather shoal, in some places not more than three feet deep; but after passing over the bar it is ten feet deep, and continues nearly the same depth about two miles up the river, when it gradually becomes shoal. In ascending this river from the mouth, the course is nearly south, for a distance of about three miles, when it inclines more to S.E. The river along this distance is the dividing line between the Menominies and Winnebagoes, but the line here leaves this river and runs a south eastwardly course to Manaywaukee river, bounding the country of the Menominies on the south. The land lying to the West and South west, between this boundary of the Menominies and Fox River, is claimed by the Winnebagoes as far up as Lake Apachaway [Puckawa] or the lower line of the purchase made by *Judge Atwater* and others in 1829.¹

¹ Referring to the treaty with the Winnebagoes, conducted at Prairie du Chien, Aug. 1, 1829. The United States commissioners were Gen. John McNeil, Col. Pierre Menard, and Caleb Atwater.— Ed.

The lines defined by the Menominie Treaty, fixes the southerly boundary of their cession to the U.S. immediately at the head of Winnebago Lake, and thence running a southeasterly direction, whereas, according to the description given on the spot, by the Menominie Chief, and concurring 422 testimony subsequently received, the line should extend up and along this river as I have above stated, about three miles, and then change its course to S.E. I marked a tree at the mouth of Fond du lac river, which according to the words of the Treaty, would be the S. W. boundary of the purchase. It is an Elm tree, with three forks,

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standing alone on the margin of the river. But, a prefatory clause in the article defining the boundaries, declares, that the Menominie Nation “cede and forever relinquish to the United States, *all* their country on the south east side of Winnebago Lake, Fox river and Green Bay,” thus evidently showing that they intended to convey all their land in this direction. If the government, however, does not put this construction upon the language of the Treaty, there can be an arrangement made without difficulty with the Menominies for this corner of their territory. The difference in the quantity of land, acquired by taking the boundary of the purchase as including “ *all* their land” or the imaginary line fixed by the Treaty, would perhaps be *thirty thousand acres* , and certainly, from the circumstances of its being directly at the head of Winnebago Lake, where the great roads from Chicago, from the Mississippi, by the way of Galena, and through the mining country, and also by way of Fort Winnebago, will most likely intersect this water, it is [a] highly important part of the purchase.

There is an immense tract of rich meadow land, at the south end of Winnebago Lake, extending from *Fond du Lac* , a width of two and three miles, in a S. E. direction to the foot of a high mountain, a distance of perhaps seven or eight miles. The country between this place and where the line will probably intersect Manaywauke river, is generally very fertile, well watered by the waters of Rocky river and various smaller streams, and contains a sufficient quantity of timber of the best kind and largest growth. The Indians have marked the land bordering on Manaywauke river, as being of a superior quality by the name they have given the stream. “Manaywauke” signifies “scarce a good land.” Its interpretation into our language means “ *the river of good 423 land* .” The mill privileges on the river are very line, and the timber on its border is hickory, Oak, Hard Maple, Beech, and some Black Walnut. The whole extent of country between Milwaukee and Manatoowoc rivers, is represented as being equal in value to that i have just described. From the mouth of Milwaukee or *Manaywauke* , to the mouth, or entrance into Lake Michigan, of Manatoowoc river, the distance is probably seventy miles. Between these waters, there are a number of streams emptying into the Lake—the principal ones are

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Sock, Bark, Shebowegan and *Pigeon* rivers. The *Shebowegan* is a very considerable stream, and runs through a valuable part of the country.

I have not obtained any information respecting the land bordering Lake Michigan, from Manatoowoc to the entrance of Green Bay, upon which I dare place sufficient reliance to attempt a particular description of it. There can be but little doubt, however, judging from the character of the adjoining country, but that it is of a good quality. About thirty miles below Manatoowoc the "Three rivers" empty into the Lake, through one mouth, which will doubtless be a place of some importance when the country populates. There are several valuable fisheries on the coast, where the celebrated white fish of this country are caught, in great numbers; but unfortunately there have been but few harbors for vessels found on the coast.

The termination of the Peninsula at the entrance of Green Bay into the Lake, presents a high bluff of rocks, and forms an angle, which by taking the lake for a right line, may be called a mixed angle; and some distance above the *detour*, fronting the Bay, this cliff or bluff is upwards of a hundred feet high. The nearest channel to the main land, turning the point of the Peninsula from the Lake into Green Bay, is known to mariners by the name of *Death's door passage*. It received this name, as an Indian tradition informs us, in consequence of a circumstance occurring many years ago, by which a large body of Indians were lost near the bluff of rocks projecting over the Lake at this point. There was and is still a table in the Lake almost immediately 424 under the bluff, presenting a face of solid rock perhaps thirty feet square. A band of Indians in canoes, on their way to some of the French Trading posts, halted at this place for the purpose of resting and taking some refreshment, and while seated on their stone table, which then projected about three feet above the surface of the water, a storm arose suddenly, which swept over the rock a tremendous sea, and dashed their canoes to pieces. The bluff of rocks was too steep to scale, and the poor creatures, having no other means of escape, but trusting to the waves to drive them ashore at some distance from the fatal spot, nearly all perished. On the face of the rocks fifteen or twenty feet above the surface of the water, there are figures

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of Indians and Canoes painted Indian fashion, which must have been done with much difficulty, and by the help of scaling ladders, during a dead calm on the Lake.

From the point of the Peninsula up the shore of Green Bay, it is about forty miles to Sturgeon Bay, a considerable sheet of water which reaches across the Peninsula about ten miles, leaving a portage between its extreme point and Lake Michigan of about two miles. This Bay at its mouth is about five miles wide. The land on both sides of it is very fertile, and a high ledge of limestone rocks terminate on its S. W. shore. The first Island, below Fort Howard, is opposite the mouth of Sturgeon Bay. It is called Green Island, and contains about a hundred acres of excellent limestone land, partly covered with a heavy growth of Timber. The Indians have fine plantations of corn on this Island. The next Island below, on Green Bay, is called Chamber's Island, which is about five miles in length, and perhaps a mile and a half in width; and is also composed of the best quality of soil. Indeed the Islands below, which are very numerous, are generally valuable. There are some parts of the main land between Sturgeon Bay and Lake Michigan, near the point at the entrance of the Bay, which may be called broken land, but there is a very extensive body of first rate land in the triangularly formed tract cut off by Sturgeon Bay. About seven miles above this Bay there is another basin, called "Little Sturgeon Bay," which is probably eight miles in circumference. There is also a ledge of rocks approaches the shore of this Bay, and rises into a considerable bluff near its mouth. The land extending back and in the vicinity of this Bay is also very fertile, and is well timbered. Both big and little Sturgeon Bays possess many fascinations which must attract the notice of men of enterprise and capital, when the land is offered for sale by the government. They contain fine harbors, and, especially Big Sturgeon Bay, will be found a commodious and beautiful Port. They are nearly surrounded by a country of the richest soil, watered by numerous springs from the mountain, a short distance back, and the best stone that can be required for building, may be had in any quantities, in the immediate neighborhood; as well as wood, of the best quality and growth of the country.

The distance from Little Sturgeon Bay to Fort Howard is about thirty five miles, and the country above increases in beauty. About twelve miles below the Fort, there is a very conspicuous promontory, called the *Red Banks* 1 — they are, at the highest point, about a hundred feet above the level of the Bay. The ground on these banks presents the appearance of having once been under cultivation, probably by the early French settlers; and one place evidently bears vestiges of fortifications of some kind. I have not heard these appearances accounted for by the Indians or the present French settlers. The ground from the summit of these banks, gradually descends in going back from the

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 491–494; iii, pp. 203, 204; xiii, pp. 457, 458, 466, for Indian legends of the Red Banks. Indian earthworks were found in considerable numbers at the Red Banks, by the first white settlers; but the erosion of the face of this considerable cliff of clay has been so great that all have disappeared save a faint trace on the southern approach. Red Banks is now occupied by numerous summer cottages, owned by citizens of Green Bay, the settlement being indifferently known as “Benderville” and “Kish-ke-kwan-te-no”—the latter being supposed to mean, in the Menomonee tongue, “sloping to the cedars;” in the rear of the cliff is a cedar swamp.— Ed.

426 Bay, and at the foot of the mountain about two miles from the shore, there is some of the most beautiful and rich bottom land in the country, well watered with numerous never failing springs, rising in the mountain, The soil generally, at this part of the purchase has a red loamy appearance, and is deep and very rich. This appearance and quality extends across the mountain in the direction of Lake Michigan. The high ground at the Red Banks breaks off suddenly, after hanging over the Bay along a distance of about half a mile, and forms a cove at their lower extremity which affords an excellent harbor. The water is ten feet deep, within fifty yards of the shore; and the mountain at this point approaches within half a mile of the margin of the Bay; leaving a fertile valley between of considerable length.

About seven miles below the Red Banks, there is another recess in the land continuing a distance of probably three miles, along which is a bold, pebbly shore, the banks rising

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from three to six feet above the level of the Bay. Near the centre of this recess there is a small stream of water gushing from the forest into the Bay, which is called Red River, from the circumstance, I presume, of the water heaving a remarkably reddish appearance. About seven hundred yards above the mouth of this stream following its course over a bed of rocks, there is a natural *cascade*, over which this stream falls, perpendicularly, about thirty-five feet. This sheet of water is about twenty feet in width, and first strikes a solid rock, and then bounds over a space of about five feet more into a basin, beautifully formed, about thirty feet in circumference; and in the centre, where the water appears as clear as crystal, it is four feet deep. The water is very cold and delicious. The space immediately occupied by the cascade is probably one hundred and fifty feet in circumference; and may truly be called a lovely spot. The walls or bastions supporting it, are composed of rock, arranged in horizontal strata with surprising regularity. On the east side of the cascade there are natural stairs, leading by a gradual and safe ascent to 427 the level above; and on every side there are large trees standing on the brink of the precipice. On the east and west side of the cascade are several pyramids formed of solid rock, standing entirely isolated. After the water leaves the basin, a short distance, it disappears under the rocky bed of the creek, but rises again about one hundred yards below, and flows into the Bay, as I have already stated, a rapid and handsome stream of water. There is a beautiful cove below the cascade, about a hundred and fifty yards, of an oval shape, nearly surrounded by high banks, which contains about twenty acres of the richest land, and is covered with a grove of Oak, Maple and Butter-nut trees, of a vigorous growth. The ground above the cascade has a fine elevation, and the soil has the appearance of great fertility in every direction.

In taking a N. W. course from the cascade to the Bay, the distance in a straight line, is something above five hundred yards, and passes through a dense forest of very large trees, consisting chiefly of Oak, Maple, Beech and Bass wood, until within about seventy five yards of the shore of the Bay, when the timber changes into a very handsome pine grove. There is an elevation within a few yards of the Cascade from which a slight view

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of the Bay can be obtained through a vista in the forest, and by opening an avenue from this point to the margin of the water, through the Pine grove, a splendid prospect would be formed.

There is a small settlement of French and half breeds,¹ above the Red Banks on the Bay, and six miles below the Fort, who have cleared and cultivated several hundred acres of land; which is the only white settlement on this Peninsula, outside of the confirmed claims. Between this settlement, and the "Green Bay settlement" there is a very extensive prairie, which is very valuable as a meadow, on account of its convenience to these settlements. —The Mountain or ledge of rocks, which extends from the east side of Winnebago Lake the whole length of the Peninsula to Green Bay, approaches this settlement at the nearest point,

1 Bay Settlement.— Ed.

428 about east, within a distance of six miles. The country filling the intermediate space is rather low and level; but the soil is very fertile and productive. In running a course about S. E. from this place to the mouth of Manaywaukee river at Lake Michigan, the country is just sufficiently undulating to make it a desirable farming country, and give power to the numerous streams with which it abounds, for the purposes of draining or forming valuable mill seats. The land is unquestionably of the most fertile quality. In a direction east from the Little Kaccalin about eight miles, there is a large body of delightful land. There are numerous streams rising at the foot of the mountain near this place, the banks of which at some places rise to a height of seventy and eighty feet, and the waters become very rapid. On the margins of these streams there are the finest groves of Sugar Maples. They unite into one stream, a few miles below this place, and form considerable water, called *Devil's River*,¹ which passes the settlement in the rear, at a distance of about three miles, running nearly parallel with Fox river; but forms a curve below and empties into this river opposite Fort Howard. Devil's River is navigable for large vessels two or three miles above the mouth. There is a fine stream enters it on the north side, about two miles above its mouth, called *Hell Creek*; upon which a saw mill has been commenced this summer,

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within three hundred yards of its mouth, and is now nearly finished. The only other creek of any consequence emptying into Fox river, from this Peninsula, near to the settlement, is *Plum Creek* which rises also at the foot of the mountain, and empties into Fox river, some distance above Little Kaccalin.

1 Now East River.— Ed.

I have now, Sir, laid before you a view of the country purchased by the United States from the Menominie Tribe of Indians pursuant to my instructions. I have severely felt my incapacity for the task assigned me, and must crave your indulgence for the tedious monotony of my descriptions. If the Senate can extract any useful information from them I shall feel amply repaid for all the pains and 429 labor I have been at to collect materials for a faithful history. I feel deeply anxious for the prosperity of this country, which cannot advance a single step so long as it is distracted by the dispute between the Indians; and, believing that you feel an equal interest in the subject, I will venture to introduce a few more facts which will go to show how vitally important the provisions of the Menominie Treaty are to the very existence of the contemplated Territory of Huron.

I beg leave first to call your attention to the Territorial Bill which passed the H. of R. of the United States, during the session of 1827–'28: and also to the boundaries established by a similar Bill, which has been reported in the House of Representatives, on the 6th of January, 1830, by Mr. Clark, from the Committee on Territories. The 13th Section of this Bill enacts: “ *That the seat of Government of the Territory of Huron, shall be established at the village of Menominie¹ on the Fox river:*” and this “village of Menominie” is in the heart of Green Bay settlement, on the east side of the river. Now the original claim set up by the New York Indians embraces all the Menominie country on both sides of Fox river, and Green Bay, from Winnebago Lake to Lake Michigan. Thus, you will perceive, that if the legality of this claim be admitted by government, and the Bill organizing the new Territory should pass, with its present provisions, the territorial limits, surrounding the *seat of government, will be confined to six miles square, the extent of the present confirmed*

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claims ! The Government cannot have correct information on this subject, or surely Congress would not pass a Bill, forming a new Territory under such circumstances, but would await the decision of a question so important to the interests of the new Territory, and which decision might so materially change the operations of the Bill.

1 Menomoneeville (or Shantytown), a portion of Green Bay, platted in 1829. See map in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 430.— Ed.

The New York Tribes pretend to claim as an agricultural people, and declare that they “did not purchase from the 430 Menominies for the purpose of speculation, but to procure a home for themselves and their posterity.” If this be true, government cannot obtain an acre of Land within seventy miles of the seat of the Territorial government, and the passes to it, from the Mississippi above, and the Lakes below, will be through an Indian country. The Menominies, stript of the largest portion of their country by the New York Tribes, will have no more land to sell; and thus, this extensive, fertile and delightful country, *worth several millions of dollars* , will be lost to the government, and its rich prospects of soon becoming a flourishing agricultural and commercial country, entirely blighted.

I have given you a full account of the nature and extent of the claims set up by the New York Indians, in my report of the 16th of August, to which, I now respectfully refer you. That communication embodies all the facts of the case, and adduces all the testimony relied upon by the several parties. The different *claims* and *offers* , made at various times; with the present locations of the New York Tribes, and the country provided for their future homes by the late Treaty, are delineated on the Map which I will forward with this communication. This map is not as accurate or descriptive, as I could wish it; but there is no material error, and it gives a correct general view of the position of the country. Any difficiency or error in the Map or in this Report, may be supplied by Col. Robert Irwin, Hon. James D. Doty and Morgan L. Martin, Esq., of this place, who will be at Washington during the ending session of Congress. To these gentlemen I respectfully refer you, also, on the subject of the claims of the New York Indians.

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I conceive it proper, although these claims are made the subject matter of another report, to introduce them in this communication, under the various shapes they have assumed since the commencement of the dispute. The country claimed by the New York Tribes, by virtue of their arrangements with the Menominies, concluded in 1821 & 1822, contains *six million seven hundred and twenty thousand acres of land*. These claims were immediately contested by the Menominies, 431 and the Tribes were, for the first time cited to appear before Commissioners in 1827, at Little Butte des Morts.¹ At this Council the New York Tribes refused to make any compromise of their demands with the U.S. Commissioners. Another Council was held at Green Bay, in August 1830,² for the sole object of settling this difficulty. At this Council the New York Tribes agreed to settle the matter by accepting “of a tract of country traversed by Fox River, having a perpendicular width of twenty seven miles, and extending to the N. W. thirty miles, and S. E. as far as the Menominies' possessions extend; this tract would occupy both sides of Fox river, from the rapids of Winnebago Lake to a point some distance below the Little Kaccalin, thus including *all the water privileges, and would contain at least one million of acres!*”

1 Treaty concluded with the Chippewas, Menomonees, and Winnebagoes, at Butte des Morts, Aug. 11, 1827, by Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney.— Ed.

2 See “McCall's Journal,” *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 170–215.— Ed.

As a reply to this proposal the Menominies offered them a tract of land on the west side of Fox river, extending from the head of the Rapids of Grand Kaccalin, to the Little Butte des Morts, and running back thirty miles, which tract contains *one hundred and forty four thousand acres*. This offer being refused, the Commissioners attempted to effect a compromise by offering the Stockbridge Tribe a tract on the east side of Fox river, at Grand Kaccalin, containing six thousand acres! And to the Brothertown Tribe, a tract, commencing on the same side of the river about five miles below, at Plumb creek, and running down to Little Kaccalin; containing twenty thousand acres! To the residue of the Tribes they offered a tract, of a triangular shape, on the west side of Fox river,

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containing two hundred and fifty thousand acres! Both parties rejected this proposition of the Commissioners.

The present arrangement between the United States and the Menominie Tribe, gives the New York Indians *five hundred and twenty thousand acres* , in one tract, on the west side 432 of Fox river which includes all the improvements on that side of the river, and possesses local advantages equal to any in the country. This location is certainly preferable to any heretofore offered them; and is far more valuable, both on account of the quantity of land it contains and the quality of the soil and timber.

The price, paid in goods by the New York Tribes, was *five thousand dollars* . For this sum they will now receive, under the sanction of the government 570,000 acres of land; which will be at a price less than one cent per acre!!! Can there be *hardship* or *injustice* inflicted upon these Tribes by such a bargain? But, suppose they could be confirmed in their original claim, they would then have paid the Menominie Tribe *less than one mill per acre* for their land; and this, too, for a country containing upwards of *six millions of acres* ! Would this be dealing fairly with the poor Menominies? And would their government be acting the part of a faithful guardian of these people, if it would sanction so gross an imposition practised upon them? Reason, justice and common sense, will answer in the negative.

In making these remarks I disclaim entertaining the slightest unfriendly feeling toward these Tribes. On the contrary, I claim to be their friend, and have done everything within my power, since I have resided here, to promote their *true* interest. But my advice, having no *interested* motive to flavor it, has been found unpalatable, and I have been prescribed as being unfriendly to these people.

The number of Indians in the State of New York, including those who have removed to this country, does not, according to their own estimate, exceed six thousand. It is very evident, therefore, that the quantity of land provided for them by this Treaty, will be sufficient for all

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their purposes as an agricultural people, for the next half century. Even if they should all consent to remove to this country, which is by no means certain, they ever intended to do, there can be *one hundred* acres allotted to each soul out of this tract. But, when they come to settle upon their country, if they should desire to exchange some of their land 433 lying along their northerly boundary, for a location further south, I presume the government can procure an extension of the purchase from the Menominies in a direction S. W. from the upper boundary of the tract given to these Tribes, by the Treaty.

The Menominies have selected the location, upon which *they* desire their improvements authorized by the Treaty, to be made. This location is at the Big Butte des Morts, on the Fox river, about twelve miles above its entrance into Winnebago Lake. It is a judicious selection; being on a considerable elevation, rising gradually from the river, and presenting a healthy and beautiful appearance. The soil has the appearance of being very fertile, and easily cultivated. Their settlement I presume, will extend along the prairies some distance back from Winnebago Lake in the direction of Fox river below the lake; and their mills will probably be erected on the river below, unless a more convenient site be found on Wolf river, of which I am not informed. Fox river, between the Butte and its entrance into Winnebago, is literally covered with rice; its course is nearly due east, and the channel in most places is narrow. About six miles below the Butte the river opens into a very pretty lake, probably eight miles in circumference, called "Lake Wing."

From the entrance of Fox river into Winnebago Lake, to the southerly extremity of the Lake at Fond du lac river, the distance is about fifteen miles, and the course S. E. The country bordering this Lake between these rivers, is claimed and occupied by Winnebagoes. The land that I examined on the margin of the Lake equals any in the vicinity of Fond du lac, in fertility — and there [are] several bold and beautiful points of land, with ten feet [of] water within a few yards of the shore. This tract, judging from its location, I am induced to think is of very little importance to this Tribe; and if their title was extinguished by the United

States, and the Menominee Treaty ratified, the government would have the disposal of the whole country from the Lake by the way of Green Bay to the Mississippi. 29

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The distance from Green Bay settlement to Big Butte des Morts by the way of the river and Lake is twenty miles, but it can be travelled by land within a distance of fifty miles. The road crosses Fox river at Rapids des pere, at the head of the settlement and keeps on the West bank of the river near the margin, to the Little Butte des Morts. The course of the stream changes at this place; and the path leaves the river, and pursues a course about S. W. to the Big Butte, which is only about fifteen miles from this point by the course of the path. The country which is traversed by this route is generally composed of rich and beautiful prairies, extending on each side, in some places, as far as the eye can reach, and exhibiting every appearance of fertility. In fixing the boundaries of the farming country for the Menominies by the Treaty, we were not aware of the extent of country embraced within their limits. And, from the information I now possess on the subject, I feel no hesitation in saying that the Menominie Tribe will not require two thirds of the land retained for them within the present century. They can, therefore without prejudicing their interests, cede a portion of this country to the United States; and I presume they would receive as an equivalent, an equal quantity of land on the Sconto, as well on account of the fine fisheries on that stream, as of the valuable groves of Sugar trees in the vicinity. It was with much reluctance that they parted with the land bordering on the stream, in the first place; and it was procured for the New York Indians on account of the valuable mill privileges which the river contains.

In my opinion, however, there is one question, which I consider of great importance, which should be settled before the government incurs any more expense on this subject; and that is, “ *whether the government now intends to establish an Indian colony east of the Mississippi and west of the Lakes; or has it abandoned that idea ?*” This plan was introduced by Mr. Calhoun, and afterwards favorably noticed by Mr. Barbour, in the able reports of these gentlemen, when occupying the office of Secretary of War. If it is still

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considered 435 expedient to locate the North Western Indians in this country, the land should be apportioned among the first settlers, with an eye to the ultimate object. The Menominie Treaty has a clause providing for this contingency, which gives the United States the power, at any time, of extinguishing the title of this Tribe to all their lands on the west side of Fox river, and Green Bay, with the exception of the tract set apart for their farming country. There the government can at once possess itself of at least *four millions of acres*, for the purpose of establishing this colony, exclusive of that already obtained for the New York Tribes. The western boundary line between the U.S. and the Indians would then be the Fox and Wisconsin rivers — the one emptying its waters into the lakes and the other into the Mississippi, four miles below Prairie du Chene.

I believe that this Country could be cultivated, with great success, as far north as the Menominie river, which empties into Green Bay, about sixty miles below this settlement. There are two American Traders located about three miles up this river from its mouth, who raise excellent crops of corn, oats and potatoes. This river has water power equal to Fox river, and it is a still more handsome stream. Messrs. Farnsworth and Bush,¹ the Traders are erecting a sawmill on the premises they occupy, on one of the finest sites I have ever seen. They take, and export every season, from three to eight hundred barrels of White Fish. They catch the fish in a basket, fixed under a dam in the river.

¹ See sketch of William Farnsworth, by Morgan L. Martin, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 397–400.— Ed.

In concluding this communication I can not refrain from again calling your attention to the dazzling attractions offered by this country, to an enterprising and industrious population: and its location may better be explained by fixing its *course* and *distance* from prominent points known to the geography of the United States. From this place to Buffalo, the distance is above nine hundred miles. The navigation between these places, is uninterrupted, and the 436 waters through which it passes, are Green Bay and Lake Michigan, to the Island of Machinaw, a distance of two hundred and ten miles. Lake

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Huron, River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair and a part of Detroit river, to the city of Detroit, a distance from Machinac of four hundred miles; and then through part of Detroit river to Lake Erie, about three hundred miles, to Buffalo. This water communication, continued to the city of New York, by the Erie Canal and the Hudson river, and although there is but little competition in the carrying trade, on the upper Lakes, the expense of transportation from Green Bay to the city of New York is very trifling. As soon as the country opens, and its rich produce begins to float down the Lakes, competition in the carrying business will increase, and the price of transportation to and from the eastern markets will diminish. If the Pennsylvania Canal is extended to Erie, there will be a choice of markets opened to the agriculturalist of this region, and Philadelphia and Baltimore can compete with New York for the immense business of the Lake country.

The distance from Green Bay to Prairie du chene, by way of Fox and Wisconsin rivers, upon which the merchandize destined for the Prairie and Fort Winnebago is transported, is about four hundred miles. But by the path travelled by horsemen, the distance is not above two hundred and thirty miles. The distance from the Bay to Fort Winnebago, at the Wisconsin portage, by this path, is about one hundred and ten miles, travelling nearly S. W. course. There is a portage of about a mile and a quarter in length between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. From Green Bay settle to *Mineral point* , by way of Wisconsin portage, which is the only road now travelled, the distance is about one hundred. and ninety miles, and from Mineral Point to Galena it is thirty six miles. A little assistance from the Government to aid in improving the Fox river below Winnebago Lake and upon a road from the head of the Lake to the mining country, is alone required not only to shorten the distance of the routes, and facilitate transportation, but to reduce 437 the price of it at least one-half below the present rates. I believe that the distance from the mouth of Fond du lac river, at the head of Winnebago Lake, to Mineral Point, by a course along which a road can be opened with great ease, will not exceed eighty miles. You are aware that distances are frequently computed by Indian marches; and it is a well authenticated fact, that, during Col. Dixon's¹ expedition at the close of the last war, the Indians marched from a place

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called Pine-bends, thirty miles beyond Mineral Point, to Garlic Island in Winnebago Lake, about twenty miles below Fond du lac river, *in two days* . Thus by calculating the distance from the mouth of Fond du Lac to Mineral Point at 80 miles, these Indians are made to march sixty five miles a day; and that is a very long march for an Indian.

1 John Dixon, first settler of Dixon, Ill., and a prominent participant in the Black Hawk War. — Ed.

It is very evident that the period is not remote, when the great thoroughfare between the Mississippi and the City of New York will pass through Green Bay. Nature has done so much for this country that there must soon be a commodious highway, connecting the waters of the Lakes with the Mississippi river; and then the whole business of Galena, the lead mines and the upper Mississippi will take this route, by which the value of property at the line of ship navigation will be greatly enhanced, and the commerce of the Lakes much benefitted.² These advantages require a population that understands how to improve them. Let the Menominie Treaty be ratified, by which the government will have received three millions of choice acres to hold out as inducement to emigration, and that population will not be long wanting; more especially if the Bill organizing the new Territory passes this session, which is earnestly called for by the true interests of the country.

2 See Sanborn's "Story of the Fox-Wisconsin River Improvement," *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, pp. 186–194; and Libby's "Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade in Early Wisconsin History," *Wis. Hist Colls.*, xiii, pp. 293–334.—Ed.

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I now, with due deference, submit this communication to you. It is lengthy, and a perusal will no doubt be fatiguing; but I was unable to comprise it within a smaller compass. The subject which has given it birth has reached a crisis [which renders it of serious importance to the government, and my sole desire is, when the final question comes up for decision, to have the government act upon correct information. I can then have no fear of the result.

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The Senate of the United States will not suffer an arrangement, so highly advantageous to the government as the Menominie Treaty, to be lost, upon objections so futile as those urged against it by the New York Indians.

I am, sir, very respectfully, Your ob't. Svt. S. C. Stambaugh .

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NARRATIVE BY LOUIS B. PORLIER. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.¹

¹ At Porlier's residence, at Butte des Morts, in 1887. The narrator died at that place in 1899.— Ed.

I was born at Green Bay, in 1815, my father being Jacques Porlier of the old trading company of Jacques Porlier and Augustin Grignon.² Three years after that, the firm built their principal trading post on Overton's Creek, flowing into the upper end of Lake Butte des Morts, two miles below the present village of that name; they had branch posts at Grand Kackalin, on the Lower Fox, and Point Boss, on the Wisconsin. None of the Company lived either at the Butte des Morts or Point Boss agency—Grignon residing at Grand Kackalin, and my father at Green Bay; the business being transacted by clerks, who were chiefly members of the two families; some of the firm visited the establishments each spring or fall. About 1826, Robert Grignon,³ a nephew of old Augustin, became permanent agent at the Grand Butte; but in 1830, he desired to set up business for himself, and I—then only 15 years of age—was sent down to succeed him. Robert opened a trading post on what is now the Benanger farm, a few miles above the Oshkosh city cemetery, and united with his mercantile operations the practice of the agricultural arts, in the crude style of the times; his venture did not prove profitable, and he never forgave himself for leaving his salaried position.

² The narrator was a son-in-law of Augustin Grignon, and assisted Dr. L. C. Draper in interviewing the latter, for *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii.— Ed.

3 Robert Grignon served as a lieutenant on the Stambaugh expedition, in the Black Hawk War, 1832.— Ed.

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About 1826, the federal government had established a mail route between Forts Winnebago (Portage) and Howard, the trail crossing the Wolf near our trading post, where the company kept a scow for the transportation of the carrier and such other equestrians as passed that way; the charges were 25 cents for ferrying a man and horse, in the summer season, and 50 cents when ice had to be broken; 12½ cents were charged for a gallon of oats for the horse, and 25 cents for a like quantity of corn, while the man was fed for 50 cents per meal. Pierre Paquette was the mail-contractor; but Joseph Crelie¹ and Antoine Courcielle, two relatives of his, were the actual carriers, taking the trips alternately. In those days the marshes opposite Butte des Morts were capable of bearing up a horse and rider, and, coming up the Fox valley from the southwest, travellers along the trail rode to the very edge of the Wolf River, within easy hailing distance of our post.

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 293.— Ed.

My father, in 1830 or 1831, thought seriously of moving his family up to our neighborhood; and commenced to erect a log house a mile below the present village of Butte des Morts; but it was burned down, before completed, by one of the grass-fires, set by the Menominees, who had a village at the Grand Butte. Another house was soon after erected, but not then occupied. In 1834–35, the post was moved to this latter location, the house being used to accommodate the families of clerks and agents, and two more block-houses being built in the immediate vicinity—one for a store, the other for boatmen's quarters. I was not stationed here, then, having in 1833 been sent to Point Boss, with Augustin Grignon's youngest brother, Amable.

In this latter year, another trail was chosen for the mail-route, crossing what is now called Coon's Point in Ward Five of Oshkosh. George Johnson, of Shantytown, on the Lower

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Fox, and father to William Johnson, the Indian interpreter, desiring to take advantage of this fact, erected that season one or two log-houses at Algoma, opposite Coon's Point; bringing his family up, he commenced business 441 as ferryman and tavern-keeper. For some reason, possibly the unprofitableness of the business, he soon sold out to Robert Grignon, who employed young Augustan Grignon, a natural half-breed son of the old trader, to manage the business for him. In 1835, he sold out to James Knaggs, a Pottawattomie half-breed, who had been for six years in the company's employ at Point Boss. I was at the Bay at the time, and I remember receiving a letter from my father, directing me to go and settle up accounts with Knaggs, as the latter was going out on an independent venture. I went, and soon after, Knaggs started to take possession of his Algoma property, having a good stock of "Indian goods; "—a stock, however, which soon dwindled down, as by that time the trading business was commencing to be far from profitable.

An impression exists that the old fur traders waxed very rich, but an erroneous one it is, I most solemnly assure you. "White man's unsartin!" is the Yankee translation of a common Indian proverb—but the Indian is himself still more uncertain. A universal scheme of credit existed among the earlier traders, whose tenure to the land on which they located was dependent on the good-will of the savages. After loading down his squaws with blankets, provisions, and trinkets, the Indian would most invariably say: "No money, now; no furs; I pay you when hunt is over," and, turning on his heel, would set up the line of march through the door. Coming back in a few moments, he would assume a sorrowful face, "How *can* I pay you, when I have no gun, no traps, no kettle. And my son and my brother and my father have no gun or traps. So lend me some." His demands were generally obeyed. The fellow might die from accident or disease that winter, or never come to see the trader again—and always lose some of the articles lent, and return the rest in a wretched condition. Transportation to the posts, also, was ever attendant with many losses; leakage, damage of craft in going over the rapids of the Lower Fox, mutiny of the Indian oar- and pole-men, and frequent strikes for higher pay, whenever it was known 442

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that the trader was anxious for dispatch. When, later, better facilities for transportation were offered, the gain was more than counteracted by excessive competition on every side.

Some contradiction exists concerning the capture of Black Hawk. David McBride¹ asserts that Chaetar and One-eyed Dekorra, of the Winnebago nation, were the personal captors of the Sac chief. In the autumn of 1832, month or two, I believe, after Col. Stambaugh's expedition, I was, in company with Are able Grignon, near Fort Winnebago, on my way to Point Boss. We met Robert Grignon coming down the Fox in a canoe, still weak from his late wounds, and accompanied by one of the government blacksmiths, from Prairie du Chien. Our parties united on the shore, and Robert told us the story of his connection with the Black Hawk capture. He was invalided at Fort Winnebago, and when convalescent was, on pleasant evenings, wont to wander several miles from the fort. One time, about the 25th of August, he was sitting on a stone, watching the sun set. He heard voices near him, and, peering through the brush, saw Black Hawk and the Prophet engaged in earnest conversation, in the Chippewa tongue, while two other Sac chiefs were standing near. The party started suddenly, grasping their rifles in readiness for defense; but when the trader arose, and showed his face, Black Hawk walked towards him with a smile, advancing his right hand to greet his white acquaintance. Then the chieftain told him of his repeated defeats; his constant flight for several weeks from the American and Winnebago runners; his determination to surrender himself to the United States agent; and his desire to have Grignon to conduct him to that official. "I am hunted down," continued Black Hawk, "like a deer by dogs. The Winnebagoes have abandoned my cause. The forests are teeming with spies of every sort, who seek my body, dead or alive, for base money. But I will not satisfy them. I will go to the American agent and give myself up, as a man should do,

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 293–297.— Ed.

443 for flight is useless, and personal violence is not honorable. I am sure they will see how honorable I am, in this, and treat me like a chief. But I will be shot, if I am seen by the spies or soldiers; for he who kills me, gets a reward. Cowards, they would shoot from

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behind a bush, when I was not looking. Take me around privately, and Black Hawk will ever remember Grignon.”

In accordance with this urgent request, Grignon took the entire party through a private entrance to the fort, which he himself daily used when going upon his evening walks; and handed over Black Hawk to the American agent, who was then stopping with the garrison. The chieftain was the center of curiosity, when Grignon assembled his protégés before the agent, in the open square of the fort, but the dignified warrior ignored all needless intercourse. A lady who was present asked Grignon to request for her, the long black plume which the prisoner wore in his hair. On making the lady's plea known to Black Hawk, the savage stretched himself up to his full height, and drawing his blanket closer around him, replied: “Never shall the plume which has touched Black Hawk's head be seen upon that of a squaw!” When the agent was putting handcuffs upon the rebel chief, the latter said he never expected to be treated like that; but upon being assured that the orders were strict, and could not be disobeyed in any case, notwithstanding the admiration which all observers felt in the chief's noble conduct, he was somewhat appeased.

The particulars of Grignon's relation produced a strong effect on my young mind at the time, and I think I still retain as perfect a recollection of his very words, as if they were recited to me but yesterday.¹

¹ Cf. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p.465, *note*.— Ed.

Constant reference is made by some narrators to fierce battles having been fought at Grand Butte des Morts, in the early days of the Outagamie troubles. It is frequently asserted that great mounds existed here, in early days—the wholesale receptacles of the bones of luckless Sacs and Foxes. Now, I always took great interest in these matters, 444 and was a persistent searcher after Indian traditions touching upon them; and as a result can say that I never found an Indian who ever heard of such occurrences, or such mounds, at the Grand Butte. They locate all the contests at Petit Butte des Morts, including

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both of Morand's expeditions.¹ When I came here, in 1830, there were several mounds there, of varying sizes; the largest was on the North Menasha side, and was about one hundred feet in diameter, rising gradually from the ground to a peak in the center, which might have measured ten feet in height, from the level ground. It was nearly circular. The Indians said it was made by the whites, and was the burial place of Sacs and Foxes who had been killed in a great fight there, and thrown in a heap, to be covered with earth. It was probably a great deal larger when first built, and had settled, as the bodies mouldered. I never dug into one, but have seen others who have, who say they found copper tools and pottery mixed up with the bones. The Menomonees always seemed to express great indifference concerning them.

¹ See numerous references to the old Fox War, in previous volumes of this series. In vol. xvi we hope to publish a large quantity of documents thereon, recently obtained by us from the French archives in Paris. See also, in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, pp. 204–211, Lawson's "The Outagamie Village at West Menasha."— Ed.

Grand Butte des Morts (great hill of the dead) was so named by the French, because it was a higher point of land than usual in this particular region of the Wolf valley, and was the principal burying ground for the Sacs and Foxes, and the Menomonees after them; though the latter tribe had practically abandoned it as a general cemetery, before the opening of the nineteenth century, and buried their dead at various points, wherever mortal disease or accident befell them. When the band was off upon its hunt, and a member died, the deceased was hung up in a tree, on a scaffolding of saplings, and left there until his party set out for their return, when they would gather the bodies of their deceased friends and bury them in the common field 445 at Grand Butte des Morts. The brave was always interred in a single grave, with his tools and implements of the chase, and the earth slightly rounded over the grave, as in the manner of the whites; no other mounds ever existed at this place, or wholesale burial occurred, under other circumstances.

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The village at the Grand Butte, that I knew in early days, consisted of less than 100 wigwams, though accounted a large one. This was their planting ground in summer. The system of cultivation was crude, hoes being the only implements used in the preparation for and cultivation of their corn; but the land was not overburdened, as they had a rough system of rotation, and the crops were generally good. Each family cultivated its own patch independently; the squaws, of course, did all the work, though the men assisted in the rice harvest. Rice was obtained on the marshes opposite their village, on Lakes Apuckaway, Poygan, and Du Bœuf (Buffalo Lake), and on Willow Creek, a tributary of Lake Poygan; that and the corn were gathered in September; they kept a small quantity for the winter, and buried the rest in sandy knolls, drawing upon the supply the following summer, while preparing the crop—game being the principal food in cold weather. Harvest over, they retired to the hunting grounds, which were on the Chippewa, the upper waters of the Wolf, Wisconsin, and Fox, sometimes upon the Embarrass, and frequently as far south as Beaver Dam and Waupun. Other villages of Menomonees, more or less strong, were located as follows: two at Winneconne, on both sides of the river; at Shiocton; Crooked Nose Village, at Semple's place, near Shawano; at New London; on the Embarrass; at Tustin; at Partridge Crow, on the Wolf; and at Shawano, the headquarters of the grand sachem and principal chiefs. The Menomonees had continually many Chippewas mixed up with them, and frequent intermarriages occurred; the Winnebagoes, in the earlier days, were tabooed from select Menomonee society.

About 1885, I again assumed the position of regular clerk at the Grand Butte des Morts post. Augustin Grignon 446 moved up with his family in 1840, and I married Mlle. Grignon the following year. In 1848, at the regular payment at Lake Poygan under Colonel Bruce, a treaty was held with the Menomonees, by Commissioner Medill; the traders were there, in full force, our party being of the number. For two days, the Indians parleyed with the commissioner, but without result, when Henry S. Baird, secretary to the latter, became disgusted with their mulishness and on the morning of the third day saddled his horse and went home. Medill then appointed Morgan L. Martin as his scribe, and still parleyed

through the fourth day, without success. The government, in the Cedar Point treaty of 1836, by which the Menomonees sold their possessions, had given the nation the right to hunt upon such lands as were not preëmpted, and to fish upon the larger streams and lakes, until the tribe had selected a reservation and were formally removed thereon, by the United States. The Menomonees had for twelve years made no efforts to seek such a reservation, and the government proposed, in this latter treaty, to bind them to make such selection within a given time, or be removed out of the State—for their existence in roving bands was injurious to settlement. The tribe would not consent, hence the trouble. On the evening of the fourth day, Martin came to Augustin Grignon's tent, and asked him to advise the chiefs to make a treaty, for it was their last chance, as in the event of a failure at this council, the president would remove them without ceremony, and they would then forfeit all right to a permanent home. Grignon summoned me, and requested that I should state the case to Oshkosh and the other chiefs. I did so, and that night a long council was held in the Indian camp; I staid for some time, to hear what was said. One chief, I now forget who, told them that Pontiac was right, when he gathered the western tribes in his uprising of 1768; that the whites were rapidly crowding them off the long bench, on which at first they had only asked a resting corner; and that final dissolution must certainly come. "The American never comes unless he wants something! Without a want, 447 he never takes us by the hand," concluded the speaker, and a wild burst of enthusiasm followed this declaration. On the morning of the next day, concluding that discretion was the better part of valor, they signed the treats; in accordance with governmental desires, and were soon after removed to the Shawano reservation. This was the last blow to the trading business of this region. It came none too early, for the disasters of many years had now quite impoverished those engaged in it; but the pursuit they could not readily abandon, for the associations of a lifetime had wedded them to its practise.

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OSAWGENONG—A SAC TRADITION. BY GEORGE JOHNSTON.1

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1 Mr. Johnston, a half-breed educated Chippewa, and brother of the first wife of Henry R. Schoolcraft, communicated this tradition from Grand Haven Bay, Lake Michigan, early in 1845, to the New York Historical Society. It was derived from a well-known Chippewa Chief, Esquagonaba, or Honored Feather, and noted down as he related it.— L. C. Draper.

Osawgenong : The land of the Sacs, and from whence the river derives its name, signifying the sortie of the Foxes or Sacs.

That region of country was inhabited in early times by the Sacs, from whence they made incursions along the coasts of Lakes Huron and Michigan, committing warfare on the Chippewas and carrying away captives. They were finally driven from Saginaw Bay by their enemies, and they formed a village at L'Arbre Croche on the borders of Lake Michigan, previous to the period when the Ottawas migrated from the Manitowish island of Lake Huron to Old Mackinac. The Sacs committing depredations upon the Ottawas, were repulsed by them from their village at *Wahganahkezie* on L'Arbre Croche, from which country they crossed Lake Michigan and established themselves near the mouth of Fox River upon the lake shore near Green Bay settlement. At this point they grew numerous, and powerful, and more merciless; burning their enemies when they took them prisoners in war, upon scaffolds elevated from the ground and erected for that purpose. When a subject was obtained to be burnt, it was customary on these occasions to require the prisoner to name the principal chiefs and head men of their tribe in order that they might be burnt in effigy and suffer with the victim. This ceremony being performed, the fire was then kindled. At one time an Ottawa and his wife were held prisoners by the Sacs, and the man was brought to the stake; but his heart failing him, he was observed to shed tears, and the laugh of derision went through the circle of the standers by. His wife, on observing this, said to her husband, "You cause them to rejoice the more, and to look upon your weakness with glutting pleasure." After having so said, she threw off her mantle and ascended the pile, and making the war-whoop of defiance she was tied to the stake, and she was then required to name the principal chiefs of her tribe and the most consequential

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men of her village. She replied that she would not do so, but would name the principal Sac chief, pointing him with her finger, and said to him that she had six brothers who would revenge her death. She then resumed her death song, and occasionally giving the defying war whoop. Thus she expired exulting over her enemies.

This event soon reached the ears of her brothers, and the eldest, whose name was Nangodook, immediately prepared a war wampum belt, with the war pipe and stem, and forwarded it to the different bands of Indians bordering upon the Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior. The Indians thus invited readily accepted the proposition made to them by Nangodook, and soon after this an immense number of canoes, filled with warriors, were seen to arrive and land at Nangodook's village. When all the warriors had arrived, they immediately embarked in their canoes and proceeded to the Sac village, situated near the Fox River upon the lake shore, and on reaching a sandy bay near the Sac village, Nangodook, who was the principal partisan and leader, made a halt, and they drew up their canoes, securing them in the woods. From this point they marched through the forest, and encircling the Sac village in part, waited for the dawn of day to make the attack; the warriors took their seats on the ground, and lit their pipes to smoke. On a height, back of the invading party, lay a Sac woman, who had quarreled in the early part of 30 450 the night with her husband, and had retired to that spot to weep away her vexation, and had there fallen asleep. On waking up, she smelt the fumes of tobacco and of the smoking weed, and on more particular observation, she discovered beneath the eminence she was on, a circular light resembling the light emanating from the firefly. The winding of the road led her from the war-party, and she entered the village without having been discovered. On entering her lodge, she awoke the family and communicated the facts of having seen a circular light, and having smelt the fumes of the *Ahpahcoosegan*.¹ But all the family, knowing the circumstances under which she had made her exit from the lodge in the early part of the night, laughed at her disdainfully, and reproached her for her temper. With this, and the ill treatment she had received from her husband, all blended together, caused her to blush and be more enraged. She wrapped herself in her blanket, and laying herself

down, soon went to sleep. The dawn of day soon made its appearance, and Nangodook with his party made a furious onset on the village. The Sacs thus taken by surprise and in their sleep were killed in great numbers, but they defended themselves obstinately all day. Towards evening they apprised the invading party, by their heralds proclaiming that their principal chief, Ahkeenandodang, had been slain, and they wished that hostilities should cease until the following morning, when they would again renew the conflict. Nangodook consented, and he and his party slept on the battle ground. On the following morning at the dawn of day, Nangodook's heralds proclaimed that they were ready to commence hostilities; but they received no answer from the Sacs, all was still as death. On further investigation, they discovered that all of the remaining Sacs had fled. Thus the Sac village, where human sacrifices had been offered and burnt at the stake, was now leveled to the ground. Naugodook was not satisfied with this signal revenge, but he and his party be took themselves

1 The arbutus, or strawberry tree.—L. C. D.

451 to their canoes and pursued the fugitives, and overtook them at another Sac village at the *Butte des Morts* on Fox River, and near the mouth of Wolf River. At this village another action took place, and nearly the whole of the Sacs were killed. A small remnant fled across the portage of the Wisconsin, and went down that stream to the Mississippi, from whence they continued their flight to the Osage country, and supplicated refuge there; but the Osages, doubting their fidelity, refused them protection, and forcibly repulsed them upon the Missouri River. The Sacs here formed rafts, and many perished in the waters, leaving but a few families to lament their fate, and these few families winding their way up the Mississippi to Dubuque's [Mines]. From this point they again sprang into a tribe.

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NARRATIVE OF ALEXIS CLERMONT. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.1

1 At the narrator's home in De Pere, June 23, 1888, in the presence and with the assistance of the late Andrew J. Vieau. The language is necessarily that of the Editor,

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for Clermont was illiterate, and the information could only be elicited by careful cross-questioning. Vieau's own intimate knowledge of the principal facts of Clermont's life was of material value in assisting the exercise of his friend's memory. The manner of Clermont's narration is preserved as closely as is practicable under the circumstances. In October, 1892, Clermont, then in his 85th year, desirous of revisiting Chicago, walked the entire distance of 240 miles over his old mail-route, in the identical costume, mail pouch and all, which he wore when a carrier in the "30's." His path led through Kaukauna, Appleton, Menasha, Neenah, Oshkosh, Fond du Lee, West Bend, Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Waukegan, and Evanston. Being poor, and unsophisticated, he had hoped that his overland journey would attract sufficient popular attention to win for him a revenue sufficient to support his declining days; but it failed of this purpose, and friends were obliged to send him home. Clermont died at De Pere, February 8, 1899.— Ed.

I was born on Mackinac Island, April 3, 1808. My father—I do not know his baptismal name—was killed in the War of 1812—15; he was a French Canadian, and at the time was serving in the British army. My mother married again, this time to François Beaudien, and in the autumn of 1820 they came with me to Green Bay.

In the fall of 1828, Joseph Paquette,² who had a place below Dutchman's Creek, took a contract for furnishing hay to Fort Winnebago, at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. I went to the portage with Paquette and his other men, to make the hay, my wages being, if I remember aright,

² A cousin of Pierre Paquette, of Portage. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 402, 403.— Ed.

453 seventy-five cents a day, and board. We returned home in a boat, down the Fox River.

After this I became one of the crew of a Durham boat—my first employer being Daniel Whitney; the next, Findlay Fisher Hamilton.¹ There were generally seven men of us—six poles and a steersman; sometimes there was a cook, but the usual custom was to have a cook for a fleet of three boats. Traders were in the habit of running such a fleet; for when

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we came to rapids, the three crews together made up a crew big enough to take the boats and their lading through with ease. Each boat had a captain who was steersman. Durham boats were from sixty to seventy feet long, and carried from twelve to sixteen tons.

1 A Green Bay trader, married to Catherine Boyd.— Ed.

The round trip, from Green Bay to Portage and return, would take from sixteen to twenty days; if Lake Winnebago was rough, it might last a month. During storms on the lake, we always tried to run to Garlic Island, where there was a good harbor, also good water; but frequently we were obliged to camp on the mainland.

Wages were, sometimes, for the trip; usually, however, they were \$1.25 a day and board—although, in the fall, because of the cold water through which we had to work at the rapids, we got from \$1.50 to \$1.75. The captain got from \$2 to \$2.25— after a few seasons, I became a captain. Upon reaching a rapid, going down, four of the crew would jump out, two on a side, and bear up the boat, while two men remained at the bow to pole, and the steersman kept his place at the steering oar. When the weather was cold,—for we ran during the entire season of navigation,—one man would run ahead on the bank, and light a fire to warm us, for we were completely drenched, and in a shivering condition.

During the Black Hawk War (1832), I served on the home-defense company of volunteers, under Colonel Tyler, to protect Fort Howard. That disturbance over, I ran the mail on foot, from Green Bay to Chicago, the contractor 454 being Pierre B. Grignon. I would start out from the postoffice in Shantytown, taking the Indian trail to Manitowoc. Only twice would I see the lake between Green Bay and Milwaukee—at Sauk River, twenty-five miles north of Milwaukee, and at Two Rivers. From Milwaukee I went to Skunk Grove, then to Gros Point, where I struck the lake again, and then I would see no more of the lake until I reached Chicago.

At Milwaukee there were Jacques Vieau, Sr.,¹ and Solomon Juneau. I do not remember any one else there. At Gros Point, Michael Ouelmit had a little trading post. As for Indians,

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there were large villages of them at Manitowoc and Sheboygan, not many at Milwaukee, and I do not recollect that there were any villages between Milwaukee and Chicago. If I remember aright, there were at this time but ten houses in Chicago. John, James, and Robert Kinzie, I remember well; also the postmaster, John Logan.

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 218–225.— Ed.

In making my trips I was not alone. An Oneida Indian always accompanied me. The load was limited to sixty pounds, and we usually had that weight. As a rule it took us a full month to make the round, from Green Bay to Chicago and return. We carried two shot-bags filled with parched corn; one of them hulled (bré-grolé), the other ground (*plurien*). For the greater part of our diet, we relied upon the Indians, or on what game we could kill; the bags of corn were merely to fall back upon, in case the Indians had moved away, as they were apt to, on hunting and fishing expeditions. At night, we camped out in the woods, wherever darkness overtook us, and slept in the blankets which we carried on our backs. In Chicago we merely stopped over night, and promptly returned the way we came; unless we were delayed by a tardy mail from Detroit, which reached Chicago by steamer in summer, and by foot, overland, in winter. One time I remember making a special trip with a letter from Gen. George M. Brooke, then in charge at Fort Howard. The mail carrier was three days 455 ahead of me, but I overtook him just as he left Gros Point for the south. Our pay was usually from \$60 to \$65 for a round trip such as I have described, although in the fall it sometimes reached \$70. I made my last overland trip to Chicago in the summer of 1836.

Then I was placed on the route to Portage, going sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot. At first this was on a contract held by a Galena man, who came up to Green Bay to get some one to serve this end of the route; later a Green Bay man got the job. I served on this route, as the only carrier, for several years, off and on. It took a week to make the round trip. From Green Bay to Oshkosh, I would sometimes go on the east side of Fox River, and sometimes on the west. From Oshkosh I went along an Indian trail to Green

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Lake, thence to Portage. On the south side of Lake Puckaway was an Indian village, where now is the white village of Marquette; a man named Gleason had a trading post there. It was not on my trail.

I remember that in March, 1839, I started out on my return from Portage, my way leading through Bellefontaine, twelve miles northeast of Portage. The ground was covered with snow, and I soon became snow-blind. Francis le Roy kept a tavern and trading house at Portage, and because of my condition hired one of his sons to carry the mail for me as far as Bellefontaine.¹ There, while I was waiting to recover, Col. William Chapman, of Fort Crawford, came along on horseback, on his way to Fort Howard. By his invitation, I joined him, and kept up with him—he riding, and I on foot—as far as Riviere du Roche, where we had for breakfast a potato apiece. But Chapman now went ahead, and I was left to trudge along alone, with the mail bag on my back.

1 A farm conducted by Pierre Paquette. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 402, 403.— Ed.

I had had hard work crossing the Fond du Lac River, but came at last to the house of J. Bannister, which was, I believe, the first house built in Fond du Lac. I was very hungry, but could make no one hear my poundings at the 456 door. So I pushed on to the Indian village of Calumet, where I arrived at ten or eleven at night, only to find that everybody had gone out into the sugar bush. Wandering on a way, I was just starting a fire to warm myself, for I was stiff with cold and very hungry, when I saw another small blaze off through the woods, and hurried to it. There I found a party of Stockbridge Indians, with two teams of horses. They had been hauling hand-made shingles from Stockbridge village to Fond du Lac, for Daniel Whitney. The bad road had belated them, and they had camped for the night. Sitting on my mail bag, in front of the fire, I hoped that my hosts would get something for me to eat; but they did not, and the warmth of the blaze making me drowsy I dropped off to sleep. At daybreak the cold awakened me; so I straightened my stiff legs, and getting up, stirred the fire. Finally one of the Indians bestirred himself, and going around among the sleepers, awakened them one by one. Then I learned that they had

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practically nothing to eat; for hoping to get through to Fond du Lac, they had brought nothing with them. However, I noticed a frozen potato on a stump, and warmed and ate it.

Starting out afresh to Stockbridge village, on the way I came across a house where a woman lived alone. I asked for breakfast, at the same time telling her that I was penniless, but being the mail carrier would pay her upon my return. "We don't trust!" was her reply; so on I walked along the trail, until I came to a Stockbridge Indian chopping in the sugar bush. He pointed to a house near by, where another woman lived alone. This time, in asking for breakfast, I did not tell of my lack of money until after the meal was eaten, and the woman had given me a pair of stockings and mended one of my moccasins. When I admitted my condition, her eyes blazed and she hit me over the head with a broomstick. My legs were stiff, and my bag seemed unusually heavy, yet I made off with rapidity. In August, in Green Bay, I was in a bowling alley, and saw this woman, with other Stockbridges of both sexes. She 457 demanded of me and I paid fifty cents, half of which was probably for the breakfast, and the rest for the broomstick.

After my mail-carrying experience—once I made a trip as foot carrier, to L'Anse, Michigan. I was guide and chainman for Capt. Thomas J. Cram, who ran the boundary between Wisconsin and Michigan.¹ We went up the Menomonee, and portaged over to Lake Vieau Desert, and then had a three days' portage from that lake over to the Ontonagon.²

1 In 1840. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 475–478.— Ed.

2 Andrew J. Vieau here remarked to the Editor that Ontonagon is a Chippewa word, meaning "place of the wooden bowl"— *onto*, place; *nagon*, wooden bowl.— Ed.

Then I returned to my river work. But pretty soon the steamboats came,³ and then there was no longer any use for Durham boats. I was engaged as pilot on the steamer "Black Hawk," Captain P. Hotaling. We ran from De Pere to Kaukauna, whence there was a stage to Menasha, and another from Menasha to Oshkosh. After that I was pilot on the "Aquila," the "Appleton," and the "Pearl;" sometimes I served as captain—as captain or

pilot, I served at one time or another on most of the early steamboats on the Fox. When the railroads came, steamboating ceased to be an important business on this river. In time I dropped out of the work, and have since lived a very quiet life, here at De Pere.

3 This was in 1841, when (February 17) the Fox and Wisconsin Steam Boat (Co. was organized. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 309.— Ed.

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NARRATIVE OF PETER J. VIEAU. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.¹

1 This interview took place at Vieau's house at Muskego Center, Waukesha County, October 20, 1889. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 218–237, is given the narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., an older brother of Peter—one of the most interesting and valuable documents published in our series. To this the reader is referred, for a full understanding of this narrative, which supplements and occasionally corrects the former.— Ed.

I was born in Milwaukee, January 10, 1820, at the old furtrading post of my father, Jacques Vieau, near the present stock yards; my brother Andrew J. was born January 1, 1815; Nicolas, March 4, 1818—otherwise our family dates of births are as given in Andrew's narrative in vol. xi of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* .

Our father, who was the first permanent white settler at Milwaukee (1795), was about six feet in height, and very corpulent; his average weight was from 210 to 215 pounds. His face was clean-shaven; his hair was light, and inclined to curl; his face was round and broad. He was naturally a temperate man, as to drink; had a happy, sociable disposition; and was popular among both whites and Indians—over the latter he held full sway.

In Andrew's narrative he says that father went to Mackinac from Montreal in 1793.² The large *History of Milwaukee County* says it was in 1776; this is more nearly correct, although I do not know exactly when it was. He and his brother Nicolas went out there as young men, and engaged as voyageurs with John Ulrich, who traded in the La Pointe

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region, on Lake Superior. Father was certainly at La Pointe in 1782, by which time he had become a clerk

2 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 220.— Ed.

459 for Ulrich, and had full charge of the La Pointe post; at the same time, Nicolas was living in Green Bay. When Jacob Franks opened, in 1794, a post at Green Bay for Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., of Montreal, father became a clerk under him. Having acquired a good reputation as a clerk, he was sent out from Mackinac in July, 1795, by the Northwest Fur Company, to establish posts along the west shore of Lake Michigan, with headquarters at Milwaukee.

Solomon Juneau came west from Canada to Mackinac, when he was a boy of but fifteen or sixteen years; in his company was another youngster, the two of them engaging as voyageurs under Louis Eaume, an old French trader. The lads had been students in a Roman Catholic seminary at L'Assumption, and ran away together. Father had known the Juneau family at Montreal, for many years; and when he met Solomon at Mackinac, found the boy badly in need of a friend. He was a fine looking lad, with a frank, pleasing French face, and curling hair, and father at once hired him, at first as a voyageur, then as a clerk. He went about the country a great deal with father, and I am under the impression that he visited Milwaukee in a humble capacity long before 1818, when he came to stay. He had married our half-sister, Josette, as early as 1814 or 1815.

In 1819, father disposed of his interests to Juneau, but soon reopened a post at the old place on the Menomonee River, at Milwaukee, as agent for Michael Dousman of Chicago. Thus he became a rival of Juneau; but it was a friendly rivalry, for both families were always good friends. Later, father traded at Milwaukee for Daniel M. Whitney, of Green Bay. In 1836, when white settlers were rapidly coming into Milwaukee, father, then 74 years old, retired to our old home in Green Bay.

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As agent of the Northwest Fur Company, and later of the American Fur Company, father had control of trading posts at Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and other places, as well as at Milwaukee, where we lived for many years, and where many of us children were born. When 460 father went out to visit his posts, each summer, he would take mother and the young ones with him, leaving the older boys to tend the store in Milwaukee.

In Buck's *History of Milwaukee* 1 is a picture of Milwaukee in 1795. I can vouch for its general accuracy, for the place represented is my birth place, my father's old trading post. The house at the top of the high bank was our dwelling. The warehouse was southeast of this, and hid by it. At the base of the bank was the house of a voyageur. The long boat represented was a Mackinac boat; but it ought to have four oars on each side, instead of two. The Indian in the boat is intended to be Meguin (the feather), a Pottawattomie; he was a great shot, as an archer; all the other Indians hereabout feared him, for he could shoot nine out of ten ducks on the wing. The buildings in the picture were destroyed in 1836 or 1837, at the time of the great land speculation. I have often heard my father say that when he arrived at this place, about the third week of August,, 1795, it was in the evening. He beached his batteau a little to the west of the spot where his post was established, and had two tents put up at the foot of the bank, one for his men, the other for the family.

1 Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee* (1890 ed., p. 55).— Ed.

The fur traders of that olden time had many curious adventures, and witnessed many singular spectacles. I think it was in 1833 that the last Indian payment was made in Chicago.² My father went there with a lot of goods, and to present some claims; for the Indians nearly always bought on credit, and were ever owing a great deal to the traders—claims which could only be collected at the time of the government payments, when money was plenty.

2 He probably has reference to the treaty at Chicago, in September, 1833.— Ed.

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One afternoon the Indians were having a council. While it was in progress there swaggered into father's shanty, Sangaunauneebee (sour water), a Pottawattomie village chief from St. Joseph's River. He was rightly named, for he had a sour temper. Father had a big keg of tobacco in

Solomon Juneau's Trading Post at Milwaukee , 1825–33 (From Buck's *Pioneer History of Milwaukee* .)

461 carots (plugs). The chief took five or six carets (six or seven pounds), and began to walk off with them.

Father . What are you going to do with that?

Chief . I want to use it.

Father . It doesn't belong to you.

Chief . What of that? I am a chief, and can do as I please.

Father . You can, can you?

The chief pulled a long bowie knife, but father made a spring; caught the fellow by his neck and his breech-clout, and threw him out, the plugs of tobacco scattering in all directions.

The intruder sneaked off into the circle of the council, which was being held in front of the shanty, and father followed him a little way. Chepoi (the corpse), a headman of the Pottawattomies,—a frightful-looking fellow, with his nose cut off clear to the bridge,—now got up, and shaking his finger at father, cried: “Jacques Vieau, we have always heard you were a popular man, a benefactor of the Indians, feeding them when hungry; but today you have lost all, you have spoiled yourself, by doing that which you have just now done to our noble chief, Sanguanauneebee. Never again will you have the favor of the Indians.”

Father . Who are you, there, that is talking with such authority?

Speaker . I am the head councilman of the St. Joseph band.

Father . If I were such a looking man as you are, Chepoi, I should consider that the name you bear became me well. You, who want to show so much authority, go where you lost your nose, and find it; then you will be a fit subject to come here to Chicago and make such fine speeches.

It required bravery and assurance to talk like this to the leader of a band of four hundred Indians. But father, who spoke Pottawattomie like one of them, of course knew his ground. The whole ring of savages, of whom there were at least a thousand in the hearing of his voice, burst out in vociferous applause. Chepoi, glaring fiercely at the impudent trader, sat down in chagrin.

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There were, I think, at this Chicago payment, five or six thousand savages of different tribes. It had much the appearance of a fair. A curious episode now occurred. There were at this gathering two young men who were the best of friends, as well as being two of the finest-looking Indians I ever saw. One was the son of Sanguanauneebee; the other, the son of another chief, Seebwasen (cornstalk). Both were courting the same young squaw, the daughter of Wampum, a Chippewa chief living at Sheboygan. They had proposed to fight a duel to decide who should have the girl. She had agreed to marry one of them at this payment, but did not care who.

This was the question being discussed at the council which was held in front of my father's shanty. The two fathers had submitted the question to the council, and it had been decided that the young fellows should fight to the death, the survivor to take the girl. The boys were brought before the wise men, and informed of the conclusion reached.

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Then their ponies were brought, one a black, the other a gray. The duelists and their saddles were decked with beads, silver brooches, ribbons, and other ornaments such as the traders bartered with the Indians; the ponies' manes and tails were tricked out with ribbons, and altogether it was like one of those ancient tournaments in France, that I have read of in the old histories. First, the ponies were driven side by side one or two times in a circle around the council place, in front of the store. Then together, the duelists and their friends started out for the place of encounter, swimming their horses across the river, and drew up on an open spot on the north side. Crude flags were hung on poles, which were stuck up in the sand roundabout, an Indian sign that a fight to the death was in progress. Indian guards were placed, to clear a ring of two or three hundred yards; heading these guards, and acting as seconds, were Chepoi and Seebwasen. A little outside the ring, all alone, stood the girl being fought for, apparently indifferent, her arms akimbo. The time was an hour before sundown, and there were present four or five hundred whites and Indians. I was then in Green Bay, at school; but my father and Juneau, who were there and saw everything, often described it to us children.

One of the duelists wheeled to the right, the other to the left. Then they brought their horses sideways close together, head to tail, tail to head. Either Chepoi or Seebwasen cried, in the Pottawattomie tongue, "Time is up! Ready!"

At this each fighter instantly drew his green handled bowie, full twenty inches long. As they rushed together, there was a frightful hubbub among the spectators, Juneau fainted, so did many others. The Indian women rent the air with their cries. Such thrusts as those fellows gave each other in the back! The blood spurted at each blow. Finally Sanguanauneebee's boy fell over backwards, his arm raised for a blow, but with the knife of the other in his spine. A moment later, Seebwasen's son cried out in his death agony, and also fell backwards. Both died almost simultaneously. The horses stood stock still. The girl, now with no lover left, wrung her hands in frenzy.

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When I was five or six years of age, my education began, at the hands of Michel le Pellieur, a clerk in my father's employ. In 1829, when I was nine years old, father heard of the recent establishment of the Episcopalian mission at Green Bay, by Rev. Richard F. Cadle,¹ and Nicolas and I were sent there. Andrew, being older, had been at school for some time in Green Bay; he now joined us at the Cadle school. We remained there for three and a half years, until 1833.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 394–515, for documentary material relative to the Cadle mission.— Ed.

The principal teacher was John V. Suydam; others, were Mr. Gregory and Leonard Groom. The last-named spent most of his time in caring for the farm and buildings, but occasionally came in to teach. There were some two hundred boys and nearly as many girls; among them, many half-breeds and Indians —Oneidas, Chippewas, Sioux; and in 1833 there were at least two Sacs, a boy and a girl, 464 waifs from the Black Hawk War;¹ they had come East as far as Green Bay, with Black Hawk's band, en route for Washington, and were left here. The boy, whiter than the girl, was dressed like a squaw; the girl was very pretty, with flashing black eyes, but had a quick temper, and the other children were afraid of her.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 464, 465.—ED.

In the early summer of 1833, Suydam married Jane Irwin, of Shantytown, a sister of Alexander J. and Robert, Jr. He moved a short distance from the school, and soon left the institution. He contemplated starting a newspaper. I had been considered one of the best scholars at the mission, had taken several prizes, and was, I think, thought to be good and dutiful. So Suydam asked if I would like to learn to become a printer. Upon my consenting he wrote to my father, at Milwaukee, and obtained his permission. In June, Suydam moved to Navarino, and I went with him. He and his wife and I rode together, upon a large load of

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household belongings. Another boy, named Scott Robinson, soon joined us as chore boy, but not to learn the trade.

Suydam's materials soon arrived by boat—press, types, etc.; and together we manufactured two inking balls. Within two or three months I became fairly expert at composition. We worked along, in a rather crude fashion, for Suydam was really a poor printer, until the first of October. Then a soldier named John Wade was drummed out of Fort Howard for some misdemeanor. Wade had been a printer, and Suydam hired him; but he was dissipated and unproficient, so after a month Suydam bade him go.

And still we got out no paper. We had done some job printing, but the newspaper project seemed to be a failure. In December, however, Andrew G. Ellis, another mission teacher, became Suydam's partner, and about the 10th or 11th of the month we struck off the first copy of the *Green Bay Intelligencer*.²

² See history of the journal, in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Catalogue of Newspapers* (1898), p. 124.—Ed.

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After a short time, Suydam retired from the enterprise, and I went to live with Ellis, where I had good board; my wages at first were \$10 a month and board, but later I got as high as \$25. I quit work in the fall of 1835. I might have continued much longer with Ellis, but the odor of the lye affected my lungs, and I was advised by Dr. David Ward, our school physician, to stop. The *Intelligencer* was not a profitable venture. Ellis suspended publication, and finally sold his plant (August, 1836) to H. O. and C. C. Sholes, who started the *Wisconsin Democrat*. I used occasionally to help them set type on this paper. Upon leaving Ellis, I became a clerk for Alexander J. Irwin, at Shantytown; he had failed in 1834, but had started up again. He remained in business this time, however, but three years—till 1838. His trade was almost wholly with the whites, although he occasionally bought tanned

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deer skins from the Indians. When Irwin gave up business, I went to Navarino, and clerked for Robert M. Eberts, who kept drugs and groceries, and had no Indian trade.

Solomon Juneau wrote to me in 1839, to go to work for him, in Milwaukee, and I went, although I did not stay long. My brother Andrew was, at this time, trading at Port Washington. There came to Milwaukee, about this time, from Cleveland, Ohio, two young men named — Monroe and —Page. They started a general store, and upon the advice of Juneau I went to work for them, my pay being \$25 a month “and find myself.”

I remained but six months with Monroe & Page. Then Juneau got me a place with David George & Co., hats and caps, on East Water street. I boarded with George, upon the lake front, near where Juneau's statue now is. After staying with them for eighteen months, I received a letter from father, who wished me to help him in a little general store which he was conducting on Claim 14, in the town of Fort Howard. I went and staid, I believe, until the spring of 1843. Next, I went to Navarino, and became a clerk for William D. Colburn, a dry goods man whom I grew to admire. After two years with Colburn, I returned to father, 31 466 to stay with him another two years. My next venture was as captain of a freight boat, carrying cord-wood and lumber from Duck Creek and Suamico to Green Bay; my employer was Captain Gray, of Fort Howard. In the years 1848–49, I taught school in the town of Fort Howard. The wages were \$10 a month; this is low, compared with present wages, but such positions and such pay were eagerly sought for in those old days.

Father becoming sick, I went to stay with him. He died in 1852. I then became a clerk for Joseph Paquette, of Green Bay, who, though a farmer, traded with the Menomonee Indians. For two years I kept his accounts, and went to the government payment grounds to collect for him.

Early in October, 1855, I went to Theresa, in Dodge County, where Solomon Juneau had a good store and a prosperous grist mill. I had merely stopped at Theresa to see him, being now headed for Kansas, whither my brother Louis had invited me. But Juneau was

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downhearted and begged me to stay with him. His wife was very ill, and died soon after. So I staid on with Juneau.

In October or November, 1856, we boxed up a lot of goods to take to the Indian payment at Shawano. We had four or five teams, one of which I myself drove. Driving across country to Fond du Lac, we loaded our goods on a little steamer, and Juneau went on with them to Shawano, while I returned to Theresa with the teams. When we parted, Juneau was much affected. With tears in his eyes, he said, "God bless you, my little brother! I pray we may live to meet again." But that was the last I saw of him in life, for he died among his Indian friends, at the payment.

Upon reaching Theresa, I took charge of his store, and later, upon hearing of his death, helped straighten his affairs, and close up the establishment. Kirk White was the executor.

Now I bade good-bye to Theresa, and purposed at last going to Kansas. It was early winter when I went in a buggy to Mayville, and there took the railroad cars for Milwaukee. There I met my brother Amable, who said that 467 he too was going to join Louis in Kansas, in the spring, and wished me to wait and accompany him. Thus it was that I spent the winter of 1856–57, waiting on Amable, who who was ever delaying his Kansas trip, until it resulted that I never went at all.

It was just as well. During the winter, although I lived at Muskego, I renewed all my old Milwaukee acquaintances. All the early settlers knew my father and Juneau, and they got me an appointment as deputy sheriff under Israel Castle, of Pewaukee, then sheriff. I served under Castle throughout 1857–58, and by that time had made many warm friends in this district. Upon New Year's day, 1858, I married Miss Julia McNulty, of Muskego, and have lived happily in this place, ever since. In the spring of 1858, I was elected town clerk, in which office I served until 1880; for many of these years I was also deputy sheriff and at the same time a local constable. Since 1880, when I ceased holding these offices, I have been a justice of the peace.

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I am frequently asked the native meaning of the word "Waukesha." Fifty years ago, *chekashskotah* (burnt prairie) was the Pottawattomie name of the river; only they added the syllables *seepee* (river), making it *chekashskotah-seepe*, (burnt prairie river). When the whites first came, they named their settlement "Prairieville," having reference to the English translation of this Indian name of the stream; but later they reverted to the local name *waugooshance* (little foxes), which had become corrupted into "Waukesha." When I was seven or eight years old, I used to go out to that region with Solomon Juneau and my brothers. Each spring they would take five or six pack-horses, and visit Waukesha, Muskego, Mukwanago, and Oconomowoc. The last named was the best trading station of all, as the Indians would go there in larger numbers than elsewhere. On such expeditions, I always rode a pony, and was well swathed in blankets. Waukesha was to me the most interesting place, because there I used to go with the Indian boys and catch foxes upon the ridge to the west of the 468 river. This ridge was riddled with foxes' burrows. A prong on the end of a stick, with which to pull out the little foxes, was the most successful boyish method of capture. The skins could be sold, or made up into garments, and the fun of doing it was thought to be fine. Later, the traders discouraged this sport, as tending to exterminate the animals, and it was no longer followed. The ridge was often called by the Pottawattomie Indians, "*waugooshance*," meaning simply "place of the little foxes;" occasionally we would hear some of the Indians call it *waugooshanceseepee* (little foxes' river); but this was not the usual name.

Of course, you can see that the corrupted word "Waukesha" means nothing; like so many other Western placenames, of Indian origin, it has, through ignorance and carelessness, been so twisted as to be almost unrecognizable and quite unmeaning. For instance: Muskego was originally *muskeekwak* (sun fish). Milwaukee is a corruption of *maunahwaukee* (place of the gathering of multitudes). Oconomowoc has been corrupted from the old name *oconnemiwing* (waterfall), meaning, in a large way, that the water here fell and expanded into lakes; curiously enough, this corruption becomes actually another Pottawattomie word, for *oconomowoc* really means "the gathering of the livers," which of

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course is a misapplication. Mukwanago is a corruption from *mukwa* (bear) and *onahko* (fat)—the fat bear. This was a popular place for hunting black bears; the greatest in the West, I used to be told. I have eaten of many that came from there. When the Indians of this region wanted to have a big feast, they would send young hunters thither, from all along the lake shore, even as far off as Kewaunee. Wauwatosa is from *wauwautawsa* (the lost brave), probably referring to some legend in which an Indian warrior was lost. Pewaukee is from *pewauki* (a ber opening, or scattered wood), which has been but triflingly corrupted. *Wauki* in the Pottawattomie tongue, means “Water,” which accounts for the frequency of this termination in the place-names of southeast Wisconsin, where the Pottawattomies were once in force.

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A great many scholars of our Indian languages have tried their hand at the word Mississippi; but the most of them are wrong. I used to be told that it is a Menomonee word, *mashchechepee* (the great river). Of course one is apt to be led astray, in tracing phonetic resemblances in native languages;¹ and I merely venture this derivation, because our people used to believe it, and we lived in very close relations with both Menomonees and Pottawattomies.

¹ For a striking example of the dangers of confounding phonetic resemblances, see Verwyst's version of the origin of several of the foregoing place-names in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 390–398. He differs materially from Vieau. It will be noticed that Vieau traces their roots mainly to the Pottawattomie tongue, and Verwyst to the Chippewa.— Ed.

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